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BOMBAY BRANCH

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

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AUSTRALIA FELIX;

OR,

A HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT

OF THE SETTLEMENT OF

PORT PHILLIP, NEW SOUTH WALES:

INCLUDING

FULL PARTICULARS OF THE MANNERS AND CONDITION OF THE ABORIGINAL NATIVES.

WITH

OBSERVATIONS ON EMIGRATION, ON THE SYSTEM OF TRANSPORTATION, AND ON COLONIAL POLICY.

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Illustrated with Drawings of the Natives, and a large and beautifully engraved Map, coloured, exhibiting the Pastoral or Squatting Stations of the Settlers.

By WILLIAM WESTGARTH.

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PREFACE.

THE extension of commerce forms the conspicuous feature of our age and of our country. Its importance is equally pre-eminent. Nor should we refuse this primary position to operations which are called into existence, maintained, and extended by the various wants of society. Compared with the past, the present attainments of human industry afford an astonishing spectacle. But even these are inconsiderable when weighed against the estimates of the future. The progress is in a geometrical ratio, and repeated experience warrants the most enlarged expectations. Nearly two centuries ago, when the operations of British commerce would have afforded but a meagre proportion to those of modern times, a cotemporary writer describes the trade of England in the reign of Charles II. "as at such a height, that it is as hard to think it can continue so, as it was hard to believe

once it would ever rise to it."* Some future period of Britain's history may furnish a similar contrast in a comparison with the present day, equally striking in the degree of progress, and most likely accomplished in a far less interval of time. Returning to my native country after an absence of seven years spent in the remote settlement which forms the subject of this work, I experience the reality of these views in the irresistible impression, that the progress effected during this interval in all the industrial departments far exceeds that of any previous period of the same duration.

This illustrious example of the parent state has not been lost even to the remotest branches of her vast family. Although on a humbler scale, her enterprising offspring nevertheless strive to maintain the same onward career; and the subject of the present volume furnishes an illustration of their success. The history of Australia Felix is that of a British settlement, originated and matured within a compass of time which has scarcely sufficed to make known its existence to the mother country. In the year 1835, a few colonists from Van Diemen's

* Brisbane to the Earl of Danby. Lingard's History of England, vol. xii. p. 90.

Land, attracted by casual rumours of the fitness of the country, crossed the intervening strait to the northern shore, and spread their scanty flocks over the wide and unoccupied pastures that surrounded the harbour of Port Phillip. Only twelve years have elapsed since that period. A few thousand sheep of the commencing settlement are now numbered by millions, and the cattle by hundreds of thousands. Thirty-five thousand British subjects occupy the country, and their rapid industry has already created an annual export exceeding half a million sterling. In the production of wool, the great staple of the pastoral colonies of Australia, there has been an unprecedented rapidity and success. The annual export of that commodity from Australia Felix, estimated to be now nearly ten millions of pounds weight, equals the whole quantity of wool that was annually imported into Britain less than thirty years ago; and many thousands in the parent state are already clothed with the produce of this new province, of whose history, and even existence, they are possibly still uninformed.

Great events often result from apparently trifling causes—a saying of so every-day a character, that I require to apologize for its

obtrusion in this place; nevertheless I must here be permitted to add one additional instance to the existing million of its illustrations. While travelling recently in company with an English woollen manufacturer, the conversation happening to turn upon the present extraordinary increase of the Australian wool, and the sudden importance and value which it began to assume as an article of commerce in this market about fifteen years ago, my companion informed me that this decided change in the appreciation of the Australian staple was chiefly due to an alteration introduced at that time with relation to female dress, by the preference given by the ladies to fine merino fabrics and other woollen garments. A circumstance so striking could not fall unheeded upon an Australian ear. The application of the fine wools of Australia, thus auspiciously ushered into public notice, has since been rapidly extended, and they now furnish the elements of a great and increasing branch of our national commerce. I have the pleasure of testifying, that on all suitable occasions throughout New South Wales the toast of "the fair sex" is received with that devotion which ever becomes a generous and gallant people. It may not be possible there-

fore to devise additional honours for what is already so highly cherished; but the Australian settler will not fail to bear in mind, that the amiable community of whom we now speak are not only the great source of our social and domestic happiness, but, in their own quiet yet efficient way, have thus powerfully contributed to the extension and prosperity of our colonial commerce.

I have diversified the account of Australia Felix by the discussion of several other subjects which have an intimate relationship to Australian history, and whose interest and importance are the best apology for the considerable space they respectively occupy in the work. These are: I. The habits and condition of the Australian aborigines; II. The question of transportation as a punishment, and the policy of importing convicts into a colony as a mode of supplying its deficient labour market; III. The political constitution of the British colonies.

I. Public attention has been of late much drawn to the subject of the condition and prospects of the aboriginal population of most of our newer colonies. The blighting presence of the white man has generally been thought to

proceed entirely from his own neglect, injustice, and cruelty towards the black. Doubtless in this respect he is verily guilty concerning his brother. But there would now appear to be no question that a race like the Australian natives, adapted by long continued process to particular circumstances, and moulded throughout successive generations by the continuous operation of physical and psychical laws, cannot associate with Europeans without destructive effect to its natural habits and energy. The Australian native does not rise to the civilisation that surrounds him; and the cold hand of that powerful influence rapidly extinguishes the ceremonial of savage life, by exposing, as offensive, absurd, and unnecessary, those various manners and customs that are ever associated in the mind of the savage with his business and his recreation, forming to him the mainspring of his life, the very end and object of his existence.

In this section of the history, I am largely indebted to the work of Mr Eyre of South Australia, and to the valuable practical evidence lately collected by the committee of the legislative council of New South Wales, and published by that body prior to their intended report upon the condition of the Australian aborigines. The

report itself has not yet, I believe, appeared in this country.

In affording to the reader as complete a picture of the aboriginal Australian natives as the limits of the work will allow, I have occasion to remark, that the habits and vices of degraded races of our fellow-men do not always admit of being described in language that is consistent with modern delicacy and taste.

II. The efficacy of penal colonies and of the system of transportation as a reformatory punishment for criminals, appears now, in the opinion of the British public, after a lengthened and varied trial, to be involved in much uncertainty. For some years New South Wales has been exempted from receiving the criminals of the mother country; but, as the original of the penal settlements, that colony is intimately associated with the general question, and will yet long retain in the ranks of her population the striking evidences of her origin and early career. Australia Felix, forming the southern district of the colony, lies immediately opposite to the island of Van Diemen's Land, which, since the discontinuance of transportation to Sydney, has become the great convict reservoir

of Britain. She is therefore constantly exposed to the immigration of large bands of partially or wholly emancipated convicts, whose accumulating numbers in the adjacent island become a burdensome expense to the penal government, and who are therefore willingly permitted to disperse throughout the neighbouring colonies.* The subject of transportation is here viewed as a question of general as well as colonial policy. In arriving at a decision altogether unfavourable to the continuance of that mode of punishment, I am at the same time happy to perceive, by late advices from New South Wales, that, notwithstanding a scarcity and high price of labour to a degree that most seriously impedes the progress of the colony, the proposed remedy of importing the criminal population of Britain in order to supply the deficiency, is justly dreaded by the majority of the colonists as by far the more serious of their impending calamities.

III. The political constitution of the colonies, and particularly with relation to the parent state, is a subject which has lately assumed an

* We shall afterwards learn that these accumulated numbers, and the resulting depravity of the criminal population, induced the home government for the present to suspend transportation to Van Diemen's Land.

unusual interest in this country,—an interest which has not been accorded to it in the same degree for the last seventy years. The present and prospective magnitude of the colonies now thrusts forward this question, which has never yet been approached for a comprehensive settlement. Perhaps it is fortunate that such a consideration has thus been left over until a season when it may be entered upon with that liberality of feeling with which the colonies are now happily regarded. It has always been a puzzling question to answer, What was the use or benefit or intention of the colonies in regard to Britain? The reply to this inquiry depended on no fixed principle either of constitution or practice, but rather on the character, for the time being, of the colonial administration, which decided, for example, on the requests and grievances of a distant population, now by interpretation of "Her Majesty's most eminent legal advisers," and again by a consideration of the actual wants and wellbeing of the colony. According, therefore, to the variable course of individual or party policy, either pursued with rectilineal dignity, or relaxed to an accommodating deflection, the view of the perplexed observer oscillated between patronage appointments, and

a labyrinth of protective commercial enactments, varied with a shadowy glimpse of the loftier object of a prolific parent providing with anxious care for the superfluous numbers of her offspring, and in this laudable and necessary endeavour, transplanting her language and institutions, her commerce and civilisation, to the remotest ends of the earth.

The colonial horizon has decidedly brightened of late, in the general march of political and commercial amelioration. The restrictions upon the commerce of the colonies are at length in a great measure abandoned; and although there is still much political restraint, which in its present form must always occasion dissatisfaction, yet this consists chiefly of the anomalous remnants of old constitutions and practice, which are not now in consonance with prevailing views in the mother country, and are therefore not likely to be of much longer duration. Such forms of authority are moreover no longer necessary to the home government, as in former times, for the protection of crown droits and collection of crown revenue. These funds belong by law to the British crown, but in a liberal age they have been entirely ceded for behoof of the respective colonies.

I perceive that a work on Australia Felix has lately appeared from the pen of a talented fellow-colonist, but under the new designation of Phillipsland,* which he proposes to substitute for the inconvenient and doubtful name of Port Phillip. The term Australia Felix was applied in 1836 by its explorer Sir Thomas (then Major) Mitchell, to a portion only of the present official District of Port Phillip; but as the colonial public have subsequently applied this name to the whole in common, and it is now very generally made use of in legal documents from this country, I can see no occasion for passing over the accustomed name. Neither am I aware of any desire on the part of the Port Phillip colonists themselves for a change in this respect: on the contrary, they are proud of the distinctive title which was called forth by the fertility and beauty of their settlement.

Having personally traversed a wide extent of the country here described, I am enabled to speak as an eyewitness of the greater part of its scenery.

It would have added to my satisfaction on this occasion if, in publishing the present work,

* By the Rev. Dr Lang, Member of the Legislative Council of New South Wales for the District of Port Phillip.

I had been enabled to class Australia Felix as an independent British colony,—a situation to which, almost from the first, her colonists have aspired. But although she still continues, in a political sense, a portion of the extensive territory of New South Wales, recent indications on the part of the home government have shown that the desired change will not now be much longer delayed. I confess myself sanguine, in common with my fellow-colonists of that part of Australia, that the separation and independence of Australia Felix will materially contribute to her general advancement, even although no other benefit attended the administration of a local government, than the physical improvement of the country, and the judicious and local expenditure of a large and increasing revenue.*

In the following work I have endeavoured to suit two classes of readers. The text is uninterrupted by local minutiæ or statistical details; and, as far as consistent and possible with the history of a colony, it contains only matter that may be deemed of a general character, as

* See the Revenue Statistics at the end of the volume, where it appears that for 1846 there has been an unexpended surplus on the Port Phillip account, amounting to nearly one-half of the entire revenue.

well as of merely local interest. The colonial reader, who may be less satisfied with such generalities, will find more detailed information in the notes and appendices.

In composing the earlier history of the settlement, I have been assisted by the writings of Dr Lang and Mr Arden, and several letters written in 1836 by Mr George Mackillop. I am also indebted to Mr J. P. Fawkner for some early Melbourne newspapers, and to Dr Learmonth for various oral communications.

In the construction of the map that accompanies the book, I have consulted the works of Captain Stokes and Mr Dutton, and several memoranda from the Survey Office at Melbourne. But for the minute accuracy of the features of the interior country, I am indebted almost wholly to the map of Australia Felix recently published by Mr Ham, engraver, Melbourne, a work of the highest merit and usefulness, and accomplished with extraordinary labour and perseverance. The present map, constructed on a smaller scale, embraces in addition the respective districts around Sydney and Adelaide. Some particulars of Mr Ham's map have been necessarily omitted; but the skill of the engraver has still been successful in transferring

a very large amount of useful information. Nearly all the pastoral stations (with a few exceptions in the more crowded localities) are exhibited, the position of the homesteads being indicated, for the saving of space, with an accompanying printed reference.

The drawings of the aborigines are copied from some excellent daguerreotyped likenesses brought home by Mr Robert P. Cunningham, late of Port Phillip, now of Glasgow, and kindly lent to me for the purpose. They are, I believe, the only productions of the sort as yet in this country, and afford of course a very accurate picture of the Australian natives.

EDINBURGH, 43 St Cuthbert Street,
11*th December* 1847.

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County of Bourke.

1 Tourrourong
2 Merriang
3 Kalkallo
4 Yan-Yean
5 Morang
6 Wollert
7 Yuroke
8 Nillum Bilk
9 Keelbundora
10 Jika Jika
11 Prahran
Melbourne, North and South.
12 Boroondora
13 Bulleen
14 Warrandyte
15 Yering
16 Cutpaw-paw
17 Dontta Galla
18 Tullamariane
19 Willwillrook
20 Bulla Bulla
21 Bollinda
22 Maribyrnong
23 Derrimut.
24 Truganina
25 Tarneit
26 Pywheitjorrk
27 Koroit
28 Deutgam
29 Djerriwarrh
30 Merrimu
31 Korkuperrimul
32 Holden
33 Yangardook

County of Grant.

34 Wabdallah
35 Darrawil
36 Currah
37 Murgheboluc
38 Gherineghap
39 Woornyalook
40 Murtcaim
41 Wurdi Youang
42 Cocoroc
43 Mambourin
44 Bulban
45 Werribee
46 (Unnamed)

47 Balliang
48 Gorrockburkghap
49 Parwan
50 Mooradoranook
51 Yowang
52 Moorpanyal
53 Moolap
54 Paywit
55 Barrabool
56 Duneed
57 Gnarwarre
58 Carrungemurnong
59 Lake la-Kewollard
60 Modewarre
61 Tutegong
62 Yan-Yan-gurt
63 Whoorel
64 Karugun
65 Birregurra
66 Irrewarra
67 Elliminyt
68 Nalangil
69 Warrion

NAMES OF SQUATTING SETTLERS.

County of Bourke.

1 James Frazer
2 Mrs August
3 G. Jones
4 Robert M'Kie
5 N. M'Lean
6 James Brown
7 John M'Kean
8 James Lawler
9 Beswick
10 F. Liardet's Hotel
11 Nicholas Were
12 David Young
13 Thomas Wilsmore
14 Levein
15 Trustees of the late James Sceales
16 Denny and Yuille
17 James Pinkerton
18 Denny and Yuille
19 T. and H. Pyke
20 John Aitken
21 Sir John L. Pedder
22 Brodie Brothers
23 Joseph Solomon
24 Wright's Inn
25 S. and W. Jackson
26 Mrs A. Greene
27 James Malcolm
28 Clarke
29 W. and G. Headlam
30 Stoke's Inn
31 George Evans
32 Brock and Sons
33 George Newsom
34 T. Steel
35 Steel
36 John P. Fawkner
37 J. G. and P. Cain
38 Do.
39 James P. Main
40 W. Piper
41 W. Robertson
42 John S. Hill
43 Riddell and Hamilton
44 Ross Watt
45 Dennistoun
46 W. H. Bacchus
47 Williamson and Blow
48 Kirk and Harlin

49 Arundel Wright
50 J. Simpson
51 William Kippen
52 S. Staughton
53 J. Sherwin
54 S. Staughton
55 Aitken
56 George Greeves
57 Richard Wedge
58 Henry Barber
59 John C. Wrede
60 William Ronald
61 George Sherwin

County of Grant.

1 John Brown
2 J. C. Langdon
3 Thomas Sproat
4 William Irons
5 F. Fenwick
6 Day and Tulloh
7 Willis and Swanston
8 Alexander Thomson
9 William Neal
10 John M'Vean
11 Michael Fallon
12 Gundry
13 Henry Tate
14 W. Hindhough
15 J. M'Vean
16 John Raven
17 Thomas Warner
18 J. Walsh
19 Henry Hopkins
20 J. Austin
21 T. Austin
22 George Mercer
23 Willis and Swanston
24 John Kiddle
25 John Airey
26 A. Stewart
27 A. M'Gillivary
28 Costigan
29 J. Learmonth
30 G. and J. Hope
31 James Bruce
32 Roger Kelsall
33 E. Griffin
34 J. Tolson
35 Ormond's Inn
36 Clyde Company (George Russell and Company)
37 R. Taylor
38 Clyde Company
39 George F. Read
40 Steel's Inn
41 M'Leod
42 Hector N. Simson
43 John Wallace
44 Cowie and Stead
45 William Patterson
46 H. Atkinson
47 C. E. Labilliere
48 Simon Staughton
49 Charles Swanston
50 G. Synnott
51 North and Grap
52 G. Connor's Inn
53 Grap and Son
54 Wedge and Company
55 D. Coward
56 Wedge and Company
57 Moor and Griffith
58 W. H. Bowden
59 N. H. Fenwick
60 J. Bates
61 Do.
62 Marcus Synnott
63 Elias Harding

County of Normanby.

1 George Adams
2 William Learmonth
3 Rogerson
4 George Coghill
5 Thomas Norris

6 John Cox
7 J. Crawford, jun.
8 Do.
9 W. Carmichael
10 Andrew Brown
11 Buckley
12 A. Kennedy
13 Coldham Brothers
14 A. Cameron
15 William Thomson
16 S. Winter
17 George Winter
18 Robertson
19 Francis Henty
20 John Henty
21 Hutchison Brothers
22 Henry Miller
23 C. Hutton
24 R. M'Donald
25 Stillard and M'Donald
26 M'Kenzie
27 M'Donald's Inn
28 Henry Monro
29 D. M'Intyre
30 M'Ray and M'Lean
31 Lewis's Inn
32 A. Crawford
33 A. Rose
34 James Dixon
35 Lawrie
36 James Kitson
37 Henty's Melting Estab.
38 S. G. Henty
39 J. Walker
40 John Kennedy
41 James Kitson
42 Best's Inn
43 P. Lynch
44 Hazlewood

PORTLAND BAY DISTRICT.

1 Crutch
2 William Roadknight
3 F. Dewing
4 Wesleyan Mission Station, Buntingdale
5 George Armitage
6 Beale and Frebeck Inn
7 Charles Airey
8 Robert Dennis
9 Duncan Hoyle
10 H. and A. Murray
11 Boyd and Co.
12 Foster Fyans
13 M'Kinnon
14 Mack
15 D. E. Stodart
16 Calvert and Bell
17 Hawkins
18 Brown's Inn
19 Fred. Duvernay
20 James Austin
21 Aitchison Brothers
22 Ferrars and Bingley
23 Cunningham
24 John Kimbers
25 M'Millan and Wilson
26 T. W. Downie
27 William Rowe
28 Synnott
29 Oliphant and Robertson
30 Brown
31 Tennant and Lyon
32 D. Hoyle
33 Peter Hardie
34 Gibb and Gordon
35 A. Herriot
36 M. Linton
37 J. T. Smythe
38 John Learmonth
39 S. P. Winter
40 W. C. Yuille
41 A. W. Scott
42 Veitch's Inn
43 Peter Inglis
44 Taylor and Cornish

45 Peter Inglis
46 W. J. T. Clarke
47 Learmonth
48 Gregory's Inn
49 Russell and Simson
50 W. J. T. Clarke
51 T. and S. Learmonth
52 Donalds and Hamilton
53 G. Coghill
54 Donalds and Hamilton
55 A. Goldsmith
56 Macredie and Gottreaux
57 Thomson and Cunningham
58 P. Black
59 Wright and Montgomerie
60 Henry Anderson
61 Johnson and Co.
62 Chirnside and M'Nab
63 Elmes and Lang
64 John Brown
65 Stephens and Allen
66 John Hastie
67 J. and P. Manifold
68 Daniel Curdie
69 Hill's Inn
70 William Adeny
71 J. Ware
72 Do.
73 Cole Brothers
74 P. M'Arthur
75 J. Ware
76 D. and A. Craig
77 Niel Black and Co.
78 Do.
79 William Ewing
80 Richardson
81 Thomson
82 James Webster
83 Adams
84 Farie and Rodger
85 Forbes' Inn
86 Mat Hall
87 Davidson's Inn
88 E. H. Bostock
89 Lachlan Mackinnon
90 Gibb and Anderson
91 M'Pherson
92 Patterson
93 Johnston and Co.
94 Stevens and Thomson
95 Do.
96 Do.
97 Steele
98 A. and C. Campbell
99 Cooper and Thomson
100 William M'Gill and Co.
101 Do.
102 Do.
103 Adams
104 J. D. Wyselaskie
105 Hopkin's Inn
106 William Ewing
107 A. and J. Dennistoun
108 Brown
109 Charles Payne
110 Gibson's Inn
111 J. F. Palmer
112 M'Arthur Brothers
113 Burchett Brothers
114 Scott and Gray
115 Hutchison and Kidd
116 Adolphus Sccales
117 Do.
118 Cameron
119 D. and C. Kennedy
120 Finn's Inn
121 Robert Martin
122 J. Pollock
123 E. Parker
124 Chirnside and Co.
125 Henry Dwyer
126 Chirnside and Co.
127 H. S. Wills
128 R. H. Bumbury
129 D. C. Simson
130 Urquhart and Glendinning

131 Sherritt and Co.
132 G. Armitage
133 Sterling and Fairbairn
134 Hamilton
135 A. Donaldson
136 James Blair
137 George Armytage
138 Steele
139 F. A. Splatt
140 Willis and Swanston
141 E. Bourke
142 W. F. Splatt
143 Do.
144 Do.
145 Robertson
146 Watson
147 Corney
148 J. W. M'Cullock
149 Murray and Addison
150 J. G. Robertson
151 Edward Henty
152 A. Pilleau
153 G. Whyte
154 W. and J. Machonochie
155 White Brothers
156 Young and Turnbull
157 S. Cadden
158 Donald Kennedy
159 Weddell's Inn
160 Riley and Barker
161 Lochart
162 T. Winter
163 T. E. Tulloh
164 G. P. Ball
165 William Kippen, junr.
166 Russell's Inn
167 A. French
168 James Brown
169 William Lonsdale
170 A. Donaldson
171 R. Clark
172 John Ware
173 Wickham
174 Carmichael
175 Balfour
176 Robert Martin
177 John Johnson
178 James Cosgrove
179 J. Campbell
180 Strong and Foster
181 J. and W. Allen
182 Brock and Smith
183 Manning Brothers
184 Manifold
185 Do.
186 Smylie and Austen
187 Mount Rouse, Aboriginal Station
188 R. Chamberlain
189 Henry Leman
190 J. Dawson
191 Do.
192 Selby and Mitchell
193 Boyd and Company
194 J. A. Brown
195 Campbell, M'Knight, & Irvine
196 James Crawford, junr.
197 Aplin Brothers
198 John Ritchie
199 Baxter
200 Cay and Kaye
201 Robert Mailen
202 Roderick Urquhart
203 H. Griffiths
204 G. Tierney
205 Nicholson and Higgins
206 Murray Brothers
207 James Kibble
208 M'Guinness
209 Charles Hutton
210 Scott Brothers
211 Ferrar's Inn
212 Niel, Black, and Company
213 M'Kinley's Inn
214 Monro's Inn
215 J. M'Intyre

216 Bates Brothers
217 James Beilby
218 H. T. Miller
219 R. Urquhart
220 Eddie
221 Mrs Scott
222 William Roadknight

WESTERN PORT DISTRICT.

1 Bourne and Chisholm
2 Cuthbert and Gardiner
3 F. Munday
4 Do.
5 Martin
6 Atkins and Clark
7 Rutherford
8 William Willoughby
9 W. Howe
10 John Barker
11 Do.
12 Do.
13 A. M. M'Crae
14 Jamieson's Special Survey
15 E. A. Walpole
16 A. B. Balcombe
17 John Brooke
18 Ben. Baxter
19 Ruffey
20 Do.
21 O'Connor
22 James Leckey
23 R. C. Walker
24 W. K. Jamieson
25 Howey and Patterson
26 Watson and Wight
27 James Clow
28 Robert Briarty
29 John Dickson
30 Gardiner and Fletcher
31 W. and D. Ryrie
32 Henry Arther
33 Thomas M'Combie
34 Armstrong and Ball
35 Robert Reid
36 D. and H. Hardie
37 W. Bamblett
38 W. and A. Mulcinagh
39 Miller and M'Farlane
40 Howitt and Watson
41 E. Watson
42 Chenery and Goodman
43 John C. Aitken
44 H. Matson
45 Alexander Davidson
46 Archibald Cunningham
47 E. Cotton
48 G. S. Airey
49 John Cotton
50 John Murchison
51 Do.
52 M'Kenzie
53 R. M'Kenzie
54 J. Sutherland
55 Clarke's Inn
56 Young and Nicol's Inn
57 Edgehill
58 William Hamilton
59 Jos. Hawdon
60 William Hamilton
61 Ar. F. Mollison
62 Do.
63 Simmonds
64 Thomas Baynton
65 Robert Patterson
66 William Patterson
67 W. H. Nicholson
68 James Egan
69 Bailey Watson and Wight
70 W. H. Nicholson
71 Goulburn Protectorate Establishment
72 H. and P. Stevenson
73 Cowper
74 Henry Walker
75 M. F. Scobie
76 Edward Curr

77 Matthew and Betts
78 Patrick O'Dea
79 Alexander Sims
80 Do.
81 Charles Cowper
82 Bakewell and Shaw
83 Edward Curr
84 H. and P. Stevenson
85 Charles Cowper
86 Edward Curr
87 William Hamilton
88 Robertson
89 John Aitken
90 Do.
91 H. G. Bennett
92 Do.
93 Caldwell and Ross
94 Daniel Jennings
95 William Keith
96 Daniel Jennings
97 Beauchamp
98 Joseph Raleigh
99 Brodie Brothers
100 James Orr
101 W. H. F. Mitchell
102 R. and F. Pohlman
103 W. H. F. Mitchell
104 Jeffries Brothers
105 Mollison
106 Clowes Brothers
107 J. Donnithorne
108 Jeffries Brothers
109 Edward Dryden
110 Hawkin's Inn
111 Heap and Grice
112 Nicholson and Myers
113 Abel Thorpe
114 Bear and Dunsford
115 Briam and Williams
116 Abel Thorpe
117 Bear and Dunsford
118 Boothe and Argyle
119 Bear and Godfrey
120 Bear and Godfrey
121 John M'Millan
122 Robert Forsayth
123 Alexander M'Callum & Co.
124 James Cowper
125 Curlewis and Campbell
126 Do.
127 Campbell
128 J. H. Rowan
129 J. and W. Collyer
130 Matthew and Betts
131 Curlewis and Campbell
132 Rutherford and Grieve
133 Cay and Kaye
134 Foley and Cameron
135 J. Orr
136 Cook
137 Ellis Shore and Elliot
138 J. F. L. Foster
139 George Coutts
140 J. F. L. Foster
141 M. J. Stoddart
142 W. M. Hunter
143 John Catto
144 Heap and Grice
145 D. C. Simson
146 E. Bryant
147 J. M. Fisher
148 D. C. Simson
149 W. M. Hunter
150 Donald Cameron
151 William Barker
152 Alexander Kennedy
153 Clowes Brothers
154 A. and C. Birch
155 J. C. Langdon
156 A. and C. Birch
157 John Hepburn
158 Donald Cameron
159 Alexander M'Callum & Co.
160 Anderson's Inn
161 M'Niel and Hall
162 E. G. Bucknall

163 Dugald M'Lachlan
164 George Joyce
165 W. H. F. Mitchell
166 A. E. Wheately
167 J. and W. Collyer
168 W. and J. M'Haffie
169 Do.
170 Robertson and Skene

GIPPS' LAND.

1 Stratton and Company
2 E. Buckley
3 Collins
4 C. Lucas
5 H. Buntyne
6 M. Mason
7 E. Buckley
8 Scott
9 Campbell and Fraser
10 F. Desailly, sen.
11 H. Pearson
12 Thomas Bloomfield
13 J. Reeve
14 Do.
15 D. P. O. Keden
16 Turnbull
17 E. Hobson
18 Turnbull
19 Thomas Gorringe
20 William Bennett
21 M'Farlane
22 F. Desailly, jun.
23 J. Foster
24 R. Thomson
25 Cunningham
26 W. O. Raymond
27 M'Alister
28 M'Farlane
29 A. M'Millan
30 W. O. Raymond
31 Blackburn, Dixon, and Jones
32 Thom
33 A. M'Leod
34 Jones
35 J. M. Loughman
36 M'Lean and Gillis
37 H. M. Merrick
38 John Curtis
39 M'Farlane
40 Do.
41 Irelands
42 A. B. Spark
43 F. Desailly, sen.
44 Curlewis and Company
45 H. Pearson

MURRAY DISTRICT.

1 Wardrop and Clarke
2 Chenery and Goodman
3 James Rowe
4 J. S. Griffin
5 A. Sergeantson
6 Watson and Hunter
7 Lochardt and M'Kenzie
8 J. and G. Thomas
9 John Brock
10 Do
11 John Dixon
12 Messrs. Marshall
13 Archibald Thom
14 Guarde and Perrott
15 Thomas Grant
16 J. H. Campbell
17 Thomas Brown
18 Mary Dempsey
19 Joseph Anderson
20 John Buckland
21 Robert Taylor
22 Daniel Mackenzie
23 J. H. Webster
24 John F. Bury
25 H. J. White
26 H. Kent Hughes
27 James Purcell
28 Joseph Raleigh
29 Inn

30 E. Atkins
31 James Kirkland
32 Barnes and Holland
33 William Long
34 G. C. Curlewis
35 Thomas Clarke
36 W. F. Arundell
37 William Highett
38 James Malcolm
39 A. and C. Cheyne
40 Heap and Grice
41 Charles Ryan
42 Curlewis and Campbell
43 Charles Ryan
44 C. J. Burnett
45 Black and M'Kellar
46 Do.
47 Clark's Inn
48 Cheyne and Gibb
49 Redfern and Alexander
50 Do.
51 Edward Grimes
52 Messrs Clifton
53 John Vidler
54 Charles Cropper
55 M. F. Scobie
56 Middlemiss's Inn
57 Thomas Turnbull
58 Rowan
59 Owen and Mullen
60 E. B. Greene
61 Do.
62 J. W. Chisholm
63 Thomas Chapman
64 Faithfull
65 A. Reid
66 William Clarke
67 Joseph Docker
68 E. B. Greene
69 Messrs Rowan
70 G. C. Curlewis
71 S. Shepherd
72 Heap and Grice
73 Edward Curr
74 Desauclose
75 Edward Curr
76 Redfern and Alexander
77 Boyd and Co,
78 Do.
79 O. Philpotts
80 Do.
81 James Reid
82 O. Philpotts
83 Hume
84 Messrs Rowan
85 Joseph Bould
86 Benjamin Barber
87 Grey and Co.
88 Crisp and Foord
89 J. Withers
90 Black Dog Inn
91 Brown and Clark
92 W. F. Baker
93 G. H. Barber
94 Paul Huon
95 David Reid
96 Do.
97 William Bowman
98 G. E. Mackey
99 Messrs Johnston
100 Faithfull
101 John Hillas
102 Thomas Mitchell
103 J. Malcombe
104 G. Kinchington
105 James Templeton
106 Morrice and M'Kenzie
107 James Osborne
108 David Reid
109 Whitfield
110 H. N. Simpson and Co.
111 C. H. Ebden
112
113 Bonnegilla
114 David Wilson
115 Howe

116 Lockhart and Clarke
117 William Wise
118 Samuel Bowler
119 James Wilson
120 John Waite
121 Heap and Grice
122 W. H. Scott
123 Cowelong Station
124 Joseph Andrews
125 John Tooth
126 Estate of W. Shelly

WIMMERA DISTRICT.

1 M'Callum
2 M'Loud
3 D. Coghill
4 Andrew Beveridge
5 Curlewis and Campbell
6 Thomas and J. J. Ham
7 Do.
8 Rutherford and Grieve
9 Cay and Kaye
10 Do.
11 Cameron and Foley
12 Orr
13 J. Harrison
14 Donalds
15 Wedge and Company
16 J. Horsfall
17 Thomson and Armstrong
18 Do.
19 Creswick Brothers
20 Do.
21 J. Harrison
22 Lawrence Rostron
23 Campbell
24 Rostron
25 William Rutherford
26 Colin M'Kinnon
27 J. Allan Cameron
28 Robertson
29 George Rutherford
30 Airey, Darnell, and Nicholl
31 A. Stewart
32 Joseph Thair
33 M. Shanahan
34 Taylor and M'Pherson
35 Wilson Brothers
36 A. Scott
37 Do.
38 M'Guinness
39 Von Steiglitz
40 Do.
41 Darlot and M'Lachlan
42 William Patterson
43 Do.
44 Cameron
45 Ballie and Hamilton
46 Do.
47 Wilson Brothers
48 Do.
49 William Firebrace
50 Ballie and Hamilton
51 George Urquhart
52 Do.
53 Riley and Company
54 Hope Brothers
55 C. P. Cook
56 William Firebrace
57 Splatt and Pincent
58 Do.
59 Wilson Brothers
60 Darlot and M'Lachlan
61 Taylor and M'Pherson
62 Boyd and Company
63 Green and Kerr
64 H. S. Wills
65 D. C. M'Arthur
66 W. J. T. Clarke
67 T. Allan Cameron
68 Sinclair
69 R. H. Bunbury
70 H. S. Wills
71 Do.
72 Gibson
73 Cay and Kaye

TUMUT DISTRICT.

1 Benjamin Holmes
2 John Clarke
3 E. J. Hogg
4 Do.
5 Greene
6 Hawdon
7 J. F. L. Foster
8 Bell and Wilson
9 Curtis
10 Manton
11 Sylvester and Smith
12 Boyd and Company
13 Lintot
14 Redfern and Alexander
15 Wilkins
16 Grierson
17 T. Scott
18 A. Fletcher
19 Jackson Brothers
20 Allan
21 Ross
22 Morey
23 W. C. Wentworth
24 Do.
25 Hobler
26 Do.
27 Do.
28 Sylvester and Smith
29 Do.
30 Brougham and Woodford
31 Thomas Carne
32 Hay
33 Boyd and Company
34 Do.
35 Thomas Carne
36 Gwynne Brothers
37 Do.
38 Thomas Carne
39 Ogilvy
40 Do.
41 C. Throsby
42 Phillips and Graves
43 Boyd and Company
44 Peter Stuckey
45 M'Lauren
46 Redfern and Alexander
47 G. Barber
48 Hennessy's Inn
49 Boyd and Company
50 Monks
51 Ellis
52 Chapman
53 W. Lester
54 Koningman
55 Mitchell
56 T. Shelley
57 Caldon
58 John Hore
59 Therry
60 T. V. Foote
61 A. Huon
62 Carmodie and Company
63 E. Herriot
64 Crighton
65 Simmons
66 A. Huon
67 C. Huon
68 Do.
69 Patterson
70 Kennedy
71 Brougham and Woodford
72 J. Brougham
73 Thomas Carne
74 A. Atkins
75 W. Howell
76 Do.
77 Do.
78 Peters
79 New
80 May
81 Jenkins
82 Develin
83 Guise
84 Gordon
85 Peters

86 Shepperds
87 A. M'Leay
88 W. M'Leay
89 Chapman
90 Guise
91 Tooth
92 Higgins
93 Church
94 Osborne
95 Smith and Neil
96 Guise
97 Jenkins
98 Atkins
99 P. Huon and Company
100 Wardy
101 Smith and Neil
102 Crighton
103 J. T. Patterson
104 Kennedy
105 Brougham and Woodford
106 J. Brougham
107 Thomas Carne
108 Rester and Huon
109 Ellis
110 Warne
111 J. Hore
112 Brown
113 T. Hyland
114 M. Pierce
115 Dight
116 Jos. Hawdon
117 Robinson
118 Crichton
118 Hay and Chalmor
120 Do.
121 Grey

ELEVATION OF ISLANDS, PROMONTORIES, &c., IN BASS'S STRAIT.

Cape Wickham, N. King's Island,	595 feet.
—— Wollomai, E. Phillip's Island,	450 ...
—— Liptrap,	300 ...
Wilson's Promontory, highest land,	2350 ...
Gobo Island,	140 ...
Hogan Island,	430 ...
Wright Rock,	200 ...
Pyramid,	300 ...
Sugar Loaf,	316 ...
Curtis' Island,	1060 ...
Devil's Tower,	350 ...
Rodondo,	1130 ...
Cleft Island,	12 ...
Strzelecki Peak, Flinders' Island,	2550 ...
Circular Head, Van Diemen's Land,	485 ...

ELEVATION OF MOUNTAINS, &c., IN AUSTRALIA FELIX.

Arthur's Seat, Port Phillip Bay, S. E.,	1960 feet above the sea.
Mount Fatigue, Corner Inlet, N.,	2110 .....
Mount Kosciusko, Gipps' Land, N.,	6510 .....
Cape Otway ranges about,	2000 .....
Mount Dandenong,	2180 .....
Station Peak,	1150 .....
Mount William,	4500 feet above the plain.
—— Sturgeon,	1070 .....
—— Buninyong,	1570 .....
—— Elephant,	686 .....
—— La Baam,	410 .....
—— Gellibrand,	560 .....

ERRATA.

Page	5,	line second from foot, *for* this, *read* his.
...	47,	... seventh from foot, *for* of the science, *read* of science.
...	58,	... fourth from foot, } *for* Bronlee, *read* Broulee.
...	59,	... tenth from foot, }
...	132,	... eighteenth from top, *for* pine, *read* fern.
...	185,	... third from top, *omit* the words, As it is.
...	223,	... eighteenth from top, *for* Barra, *read* Burra.
...	243,	... first from foot, *for* content pass, *read* content to pass.
...	246,	note, *for* Brain's, *read* Braim's.
...	268,	line ninth from foot, *for* Belford, *read* Belfast.
...	313,	... first from foot, *for* rates, *read* sales.
...	342,	... fifteenth from top, *for* measurer, *read* treasurer.

HISTORY

AUSTRALIA FELIX.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY VIEW OF THE HISTORY OF NEW SOUTH WALES UNTIL THE PERIOD OF THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT OF THE PORT PHILLIP DISTRICT.

Foundation of the Colony of New South Wales—Early Struggles of the Colonists—Passage of the Barrier of the Blue Mountains—Pastoral Progress in the Interior—Prospective Scarcity of Pasture for the increasing Live Stock—Expedition of Hume and Hovell to Port Phillip—Discovery of other available Country—General Prosperity of the Colony.

Sixty years have now elapsed since the first settlement was effected upon the coast of Australia: a period of no great duration in the general efflux of time, but which, in this instance, has been wonderfully efficient in developing the resources and elevating the destinies of a vast area of the terrestrial portion of the globe. In

the year 1787, a colony was founded by Britain in a remote and isolated region for the reception and punishment of her criminals. Even the outline of the coast was at that period incomplete; and it was not until the expiry of fourteen years after this occurrence that this degree of knowledge was attained to the satisfaction of geographical curiosity. "The first fleet," as it has been distinctively termed, disembarked its living cargo upon the shores of Botany Bay, a name which has ever since been condemned to an unseemly association with the vices and degradation of human nature, but which still recalls to the mind of the naturalist the delight experienced at this spot by the scientific companions of Cook, as they explored, for the first time, the strange and interesting types of Australian vegetation. But the enthusiasm of the botanists had reported on a field of science rather than of colonization, and overlooked the inconvenience of the harbour, and the sand and sterility of the surrounding country. The first location was quickly abandoned, and the new colony removed to a more suitable resting-place, situated only a few miles to the northward, where the future city of Sydney was founded in a small cove on the southern shore of Port Jackson. One thousand and thirty individuals, chiefly male and female convicts, formed the nucleus of the Australasian colonies, and their pastoral career was simultaneously commenced by an importation on the part of the government of seven horses and six horned cattle. These settlements now contain a population of nearly 300,000 colonists, with two millions of horned

cattle. There are also twelve millions of sheep, including those of all ages, and 150,000 horses; and the surplus produce of these remote possessions is borne to the British shore by an annual fleet of upwards of one hundred sail.

This rapid change in the general aspect of Australia may indeed be almost entirely restricted to the latter half of the interval of time above mentioned. The earlier history of the settlement may be regarded alike in a moral and a physical view as a series of perpetual struggles. The first body of free settlers arrived in 1796, imported by recommendation of the colonial governor at the public expense; but the tide of free immigration, thus commenced, languished in a feeble and inefficient state for a long subsequent period. By means of ample external resources the colony was propped up, and continued or forced on in its existence; but the accumulating proportion of the criminal population spread a moral contagion throughout the narrow circles of its society; and the historian of New South Wales, in portraying the sad picture of its early history, bemoans the fate of the youthful settlement, reared in the midst of open vice and profligacy.*

A lofty and rugged range called the Blue Mountains, running parallel with the coast, and about forty miles to the westward of Sydney, enclosed the colonists within a very limited district of their vast territory. This gigantic barrier had defied every attempt to procure a passage, and was long regarded as the extreme limit of

* Lang's New South Wales, vol. i. chap. iii.

progression in that direction of the country. The rich banks of the Hawkesbury rewarded agricultural industry; but the territory then occupied by the colonists was in general of the most sterile description. Only insignificant tracts could be made available even for pasture; and in the production of wool, the great staple of the Australian colonies, the progress was tardy and unpromising. In the year 1810, the number of sheep amounted to less than 26,000, and the export of wool for that season appears to have been only 167 pounds weight. This article of commerce, now in such extensive and increasing use, enjoyed at that time little reputation, and commanded but a small price in the British market. It was not until a further interval of eleven years that the export from New South Wales exceeded the very limited quantity of 100,000 pounds weight. It is estimated that the annual quantity now being despatched from the Australian colonies amounts to upwards of twenty-eight millions of pounds weight.*

The perseverance of three enterprising colonists at length overcame the frightful chasms and precipitous ridges of the Blue Mountains. In the year 1813, Messrs Wentworth, Lawson, and Blaxland, stimulated

* Namely, in round numbers,—

New South Wales,	22,000,000 lbs.
Van Diemen's Land,	4,000,000
South Australia,	2,000,000
West Australia and New Zealand, about...	400,000
Total,	28,400,000

The proportion for Australia Felix or Port Phillip district, included in New South Wales, is about 9,000,000 lbs.

to exertion by the necessities of their live stock on the occasion of a very severe drought, accomplished this formidable passage; and their success was rewarded by the discovery of the fine pastures that lay beyond, to which, though at first with considerable difficulty, they transported their flocks. The conception of a road winding through these enormous mountain masses was not too arduous a subject for the views of magnificence and improvement that actuated General Macquarie, who then administered the colonial government. The unlimited means at his command from the supply of convict labour enabled him to accomplish this prodigious undertaking. The tide of settlement, which had already begun to follow the track of the explorers, now received an acceleration; and the sheep and cattle, defiling more easily through the mountain gorges, spread themselves to the southward and westward far and wide over the vacant territory.

A pastoral empire, as now exhibited in Australia, is a novelty in the history of the world. With reference to such a subject, therefore, it may be permitted to diverge from ancient and accustomed rules, and to attribute what is great and commendable to qualities of a more utilitarian character than the martial prowess and turbulent dispositions which have hitherto so frequently commanded celebrity in connexion with the rise and progress of nations. In a more settled and methodical age, the name of M'Arthur must occupy a conspicuous pre-eminence in the history of this adopted country. About five years after the foundation of the settlement,

a few English sheep, that had been accidentally carried out from Ireland, came into the possession of this industrious colonist. The effect produced by a cross of this breed with the hair-bearing varieties of the Cape and Bengal, had strongly interested him in regard to the production of fine wool in Australia. Afterwards, in 1796, he procured a small number of the pure merino breed from the Cape; and having diligently attended to his little flock, its numbers were gradually and rapidly extended. In the year 1820, the total quantity of sheep in the colony amounted to 99,428, of which number 6800, including 300 pure merinos, belonged to the late Mr John M'Arthur.

Among the varieties in the aspect and adaptations of nature in this region of the earth, there is exhibited one of the finest harbours in the world, surrounded by a comparative desert. The general sterility of this part of the country, which formed the earlier seats of the colonists, has since been instrumental in bestowing a proverbial character of poverty on the Australian soil. Within the limits of the nineteen counties composing the old colony of New South Wales, it has been lately estimated that not more than two-sevenths of the land can be considered as available either for cultivation or even pastoral purposes; and of that which is suitable for pasture only, three acres are necessary for the annual support of a single sheep, and at least six for that of an ox.* Subsequent explorations have opened up in nearly

* Report of the Com. of Leg. Council on the Act of Parl. regulating the Sale of Crown Lands, Sydney, 5th Dec. 1843.

every direction a superior description of country; but the colony languished for a lengthened period under the singular sterility of its first location.

In the year 1824, after an interval of eleven years since the memorable passage of the Blue Mountains, the population of the colony amounted to 35,000 souls, the number of sheep might be 170,000, and the annual quantity of wool exported had increased to 275,600 pounds weight. The dryness of the climate, the scanty covering of vegetation, and the uncertainty and repeated failure in the supply of rain, rendered indispensable a large area of country for the adequate supply, throughout all seasons, of even the limited numbers of live stock which the colony then contained. The grassy downs, whose inviting prospect had cheered the first explorers of the mountain-passes, were now considered to be entirely stocked. Other available tracts of the interior had also been taken up; and the pioneering outposts of depasturing colonization, isolated indeed in many parts, and generally remote from one another, were already projected beyond Bathurst to the west and Lake George to the south, a distance of from 120 to upwards of 150 miles from the central position of Port Jackson. In a pastoral sense, the country was viewed as already crowded; and the prospective increase of the flocks and herds rendered it necessary to ascertain the existence of additional tracts of available territory.

It is a remarkable circumstance in the pastoral history of Australia, that the country is now found to support a

greatly larger number of live stock than accorded with the first estimates of its capability. Thus it appears that within the limits of four only of the nineteen counties already alluded to, namely, Argyle, Bathurst, Brisbane, and Murray, there are now one million of sheep, 100,000 horned cattle, and 10,000 horses, being about six times the number of the live stock throughout the entire settlement in the year 1824, when the colonists, then spread over nearly all the area of these counties, were already under a feeling of apprehension for want of pasture. The earlier estimates were probably formed under a very ample reservation for uncertainty of climate and the prospect of severe drought.*

The year 1824 constitutes an era in the history of the Port Phillip district. Twenty-two years had elapsed since the outline of its shores had been completed; its interior country was now for the first time explored and described by Europeans. Mr Hamilton Hume, a colonist who then occupied a grazing tract in the vicinity of Lake George, had the merit of projecting and accomplishing an expedition which, at that early stage of the progress of the colony, must have been regarded as one of no small magnitude and danger. He was accompanied by Mr Hovell, a resident near

* Improvements have also since taken place in regard to permanent supplies of-water. There is a general impression in the Port Phillip district that the constant cropping of the grass by the sheep renders it thicker and of a more nourishing character. Many parts of the Lower Murray, which are now being located, are said to have a very poor appearance until after a year or two of cropping by the sheep.

Appin in the present county of Cumberland. The object which the party had in view was to ascertain the nature and pastoral qualities of the extensive and unknown tract of country that lay intermediate between the colonized territory and Bass's Straits. They therefore proposed to pursue a south-westerly direction, until they should strike upon the coast, expecting to arrive there about the region of Western Port. Having proceeded for nearly 400 miles beyond the remotest settlements, they at length emerged upon a sandy beach of the seashore, considered by Mr Hume to be that of Western Port; but the locality in question has since been transferred to the western coast of the bay of Port Phillip, probably near the site of the present town of Geelong. The adventurous travellers encountered numerous difficulties both in their progress and retreat. They skirted the lofty ranges of the snow-clad Australian Alps, and discovered and successively crossed over three considerable rivers, which were respectively named the Hume, the Ovens, and the Goulburn. The former of these rivers, a broad and noble stream, the largest of the Australian continent, subsequently at a lower part of its course received the name of the Murray from its explorer, Captain Sturt, who succeeded in tracing its progress to the sea. Having judged, at one period of their journey, that they must have approached within a moderate distance of the coast, they climbed to the summit of a lofty hill that lay before them, in order to obtain a view. Their calculation was correct, and a magnificent vista of the southern coast and the

intervening pastoral country might have rewarded their exertions; but the thick array and enormous dimensions of the trees, intercepted all prospect from the station they had occupied; and the name of Mount Disappointment still records the feelings that were then experienced by its visiters.*

Mr Hume and his companion after their return gave a favourable report of the new district, where they had passed through a great extent of beautiful and available country. The government was subsequently induced to cause an examination of the neighbourhood of Western Port, with the view of forming a settlement on that bay, and Mr Hovell was despatched in a cutter for that purpose. The settlement was accordingly formed on its eastern shore, but was apparently unsuccessful, and soon after abandoned. No further result seems to have attended this arduous expedition, as the views of the colonists were already directed about the same period to the ample pasturage of the Brisbane or Manero Downs, discovered in 1823, and more conveniently situated to the southward in the vicinity of the settlement. This fine tract of pastoral country, with its two recently established seaports at Twofold Bay,† now affords support for 150,000 head of cattle, 6000 horses, and nearly 500,000 sheep. Other pastures were afterwards explored in an opposite direction towards the north; and

* This hill is a conspicuous object from Melbourne, situated in a northerly direction, at a distance of about thirty-five miles.

† Namely Boyd, the earliest, founded by private enterprise in 1843, and Eden, afterwards established by the government.

the spacious field thus laid open to the colonists soon dissipated their fears as to a want of pasturage, and cast into the shade the merits of the country discovered by the expedition of Hume. The fine wools of Australia had at length begun to attract attention at home, and their value in consequence had greatly advanced in the British market. The colony prospered and increased with unprecedented rapidity; and when, in the year 1836, the colonization of the country in the neighbourhood of Port Phillip, by the Van Diemen's Land settlers, had again attracted attention towards the southern district, the settlements around Port Jackson, now comprehending a vast circuit of country, exported an annual value of £750,000, including 3,700,000 pounds weight of fine wool, and contained a population of upwards of 77,000 souls.

CHAPTER II.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF AUSTRALIA.

Extent of the Country—A British Possession—General Aspect and Scenery—Varieties of the Soil and its rocky Basis—Supposed Inland Sea—Character of the Rivers; the Murray and other principal Streams—Inundations—Interesting natural Process of the "Water-holes."

AUSTRALIA, situated between the parallels of 11° and 39° of south latitude, measures in length from east to west about 2400 miles, with an average breadth of 1200, and a superficial area equal to three-fourths of that of Europe.* The discovery and exploration of this vast country has been gradually effected during the last three centuries by the subjects of various nations; but it has been colonized solely by the government of our own country; and Britain may now be regarded as possessing the entire extent of Australia. Our enterprising countrymen are already, with extraordinary rapidity, overspreading this ample territory.

The square uniformity of the coast-outline, the

* The area of Europe is 3,684,841 square miles, that of Australia, according to the latest authorities, 2,690,810. See Sydney Herald, 11th January 1847.

almost total absence of any arm of the sea to afford access by water-conveyance to the interior of so extensive a region, are features that readily strike the eye of the geographer. The internal aspect and the productions of the country have been found equally remarkable with its external configuration. Extensive and naked plains covered with a scanty vegetation, are relieved by wooded hills of a moderate elevation, diversified with undulating pastoral country more thickly carpeted with grass, and lightly timbered with various species of the Eucalyptus.* The coolness and moisture of winter and spring spread a brilliant green over the surface, creating occasional scenes of surpassing beauty, though often tame and monotonous from their general similarity and the sombre hue of the perennial foliage of the gum-trees. The approach of summer reverses the picture; the scorching winds from the interior dissipate the verdant landscape, and spread on every side a scene of drought and sterility.

The pastoral portion of Australia thus depicted comprises a large area of its surface. But a still greater extent is devoted to lands in a great measure destitute of any available vegetation; to thickly timbered ranges of hills, poor and scrubby soils, and large tracts of desolate and uninhabitable desert. Arable land, though abundant in particular localities, is of limited extent when compared with so vast a territory. The extensive distribution of sandstone and granite has yielded a soil of a generally dry, light, and sandy description,

* The generic term for the gum-trees.

which is accordingly the prevailing character of the Australian lands.

An improvement in the aspect of the soil usually indicates a change in the nature of the rocks that constitute its base. Those of a silicious character have disappeared, and some variety of whinstone or basalt is generally found in their place. A large proportion of Australia Felix, situated chiefly between Geelong and the river Glenelg, exhibits this improvement of soil, and forms a striking contrast to the poorer qualities that characterize the Australian territory. In North-eastern Australia also, the recent explorations of Dr Leichhardt and Sir Thomas Mitchell have laid open a country which appears to be superior in the extent and fertility of its available surface to any other region hitherto explored. The latter traveller, who proceeded by way of Fort Bourke in a north-westerly direction from Sydney, expatiates in glowing terms on the pastoral qualities of the green and well-watered downs on which he entered after traversing the comparatively arid tract that lay between Sydney and the Darling. The river Victoria stretched its wide and noble stream towards the north, apparently in the direction of the Gulf of Carpentaria, sweeping through a beautiful and fertile country, which surpassed in extent and luxuriance anything that had yet been met with, even in the best parts of Australia Felix. The lengthened route of Leichhardt, in his successful journey to Port Essington, intersected a country in general less rich and promising, but of more varied aspect, characterized by the frequent

occurrence of basaltic rocks, and the productive soils that are usually derived from them. The scrub and rugged scenery of Expedition Range contrasted with the open pastures that skirted the broad stream of the Burdekin. Around Peak Range and Mount Lang the extensive elevated plains furnish a cool and bracing climate, suitable for depasturing sheep; while on the lower levels and moist and warm regions of York Peninsula, fields of cotton and rice may share the soil with the horse, the bullock, and the buffalo, depasturing in unlimited numbers over the green and varied surface.

Still more generally distinctive in its character from the light and silicious soils of Australia is that of the adjacent colony of Van Diemen's Land, separated by Bass's Strait from the Australian continent. It has been estimated* that in New South Wales, the area of country containing granite, quartz, sandstone, and other rocks, having over 60 per cent. of silica, is to that exhibiting basalt and similar rocks containing less than 60 per cent., as upwards of 4 to 1; while in Van Diemen's Land the proportions are reversed, and in the ratio of three of basalt, eurite, &c., to 1 of the rocks containing the larger proportion of silica, and producing the lighter soils. Van Diemen's Land thus exhibits, says Strzelecki, the greatest extent of volcanic action; and the adaptations generally of the respective places may be inferred, New South Wales being the pastoral, and Van Diemen's Land the agricultural colony.

* Strzelecki's New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land.

Nature has not afforded any adequate compensation to Australia, in navigable rivers or internal seas, for the unindented character of her shores. The limited surface of the interior waters, in connexion with the existence of extensive deserts, may account for the dryness of the climate, and the occurrence of hot winds during the summer season blowing occasionally with great severity from the direction of the central regions. An extensive inland sea had been repeatedly conjectured to exist in Central Australia. When the passage of the Blue Mountains laid open the western interior to the exploring enterprise of the colonists, several rivers were discovered flowing in a north-westerly direction; and the Lachlan and Macquarie, two of the most considerable, were severally ascertained to lose themselves in extensive swamps or lakes, whose surface, as far as the eye could reach in an inland direction, was overspread with reeds. A circumstance so remarkable, occurring in the case of both rivers, excited curiosity; and the swamps, conjectured to be continuous throughout the intermediate space of nearly one hundred and fifty miles, were regarded as the eastern margin of an extensive sea. But the expedition of Sturt, during the favourable opportunity of a severe drought in 1827, was the means of ascertaining the final course of the Macquarie. The swamp had disappeared under the protracted drought, and the track of the river was followed until it united with the larger bed of a new river called the Darling, whose waters were seen to take the direction of the south-west, and were afterwards ascer-

tained, by the same indefatigable explorer, to unite, in common with other rivers of that locality, with the noble stream of the Murray. It was also ascertained that the Lachlan, after traversing the extensive swamp to which it had at first been traced, fell into the Murrumbidgee, a principal tributary of the Murray, which it joins at a higher part of its course. The late arduous expedition of Captain Sturt in 1845 appears to have finally removed the lingering fancies of an inland sea. Proceeding in a northerly direction from the town of Adelaide, he attained to 24½° of south latitude, and exposed in that locality the existence of a vast desert of stony plains and hills of sand, exhibiting for hundreds of miles a waste of utter sterility and solitude.

The creeks and rivers of Australia have in general a transitory existence; now swollen by the casual shower, and again rapidly subsiding under the general dryness and heat of the climate. Vast gullies have been scooped out by the rushing torrents through the elevated plains of the country; but most of these romantic vales, during the greater portion of the year, are entirely destitute of running water. The rains of the winter and spring supply the various channels, which, in general, though by no means regularly, begin to flow about the month of July, and continue for a period varying according to the circumstances of the several localities. The ephemeral existence of a week or even a day is not an uncommon occurrence; and in general the greater portion of these temporary streams has ceased to flow towards the conclusion of the year.

Even the Darling, with its lengthened course and its innumerable tributaries from the western and northern parts of the colony, has repeatedly ceased running during seasons of drought; and throughout the great system of waters to which it pertains, perhaps only the Hume, proceeding from the Australian Alps, maintains the constancy of its stream against the casualties of the climate.*

The river Murray, the general recipient of these various waters, is a continuation of the Hume, and the largest river in Australia. About the junction of the Murrumbidgee, it has an average breadth of 300 to 400 feet; but below the junction of the Darling† it expands its dimensions to several hundred yards, and rolls onwards to the sea charged with the united waters of many lengthened tributaries. The scenery of this great river is of a varied character. Now it traverses low and monotonous plains, sweeping through steep cliffs and over occasional cataracts or rapids; again it winds amidst undulating grassy banks and picturesque hills, beneath which lie rich alluvial flats covered with reeds, and apparently subject to inundation. The devious courses of the rivers are generally

* The Murrumbidgee, as I am informed, has been known to cease running. The Yarra Yarra, as the name imports, *i. e.* ever-flowing, ranks among the small number of constant streams.

† This river at its junction, when seen by Sturt in January 1831, was twelve feet in depth and a hundred yards wide. Its banks are described as beautifully grassed and interspersed with large trees. The settlers from Port Phillip are already advancing into this region with their live stock.

marked by a continuous line of gum-trees growing upon either bank, and standing out in clear and well defined relief from the grassy and treeless plains.

The inundation of the principal rivers is occasionally both sudden and extensive. Roots and branches, rocks and turgid waters, are swept in a promiscuous and impetuous torrent through the winding channels; and the banks and a large area of adjacent country are almost instantaneously overflowed. Sheep and cattle are sometimes overtaken, and perish ere they can be driven to the nearest elevated ground. The Murrumbidgee, the Hume, and the Goulburn, are subject to great floods, and several commencing townships laid out upon the banks of these rivers have already suffered from these visitations.

In a country where most of the rivers are periodically, and for lengthened intervals, destitute of running streams, the supply of water is secured by an efficient and interesting process of nature. The courses of all the rivers, with scarcely any exception, exhibit a series of ponds or water-holes, which are usually of much greater depth than the general level of the bed. The most important business of the settler, in selecting his depasturing station, is to ascertain that he will possess an unfailing supply of water. He accordingly constructs his homestead in the vicinity of some deep and permanent reservoir. Months and even years may elapse ere his ear is saluted with the pleasing noise of running-water; but he marks without alarm the progressive decrease in the level of his water-holes, while enough still remains for

the use of his flocks; and it is a curious circumstance that the contents of these natural tanks, though sometimes much discoloured when the level is unusually low during seasons of drought, rarely become unwholesome or unfit for use. Many of the smaller creeks and river-courses have no running water for several years together. The running of the creek is always an important occasion at each pastoral settlement. Is the station situated at a remote distance from the sources of the creek which traverses it? Weeks and months of rain may have failed to resuscitate the stream in that locality, for a thousand natural cisterns throughout the upper part of its course must previously overflow, ere the lower reservoirs can be replenished. The rushing noise at length announces the approach of a welcome friend; the various water-holes upon the station are successively filled, and the diminished and unnecessary remnant swept on towards the sea. The rains of the entire year are frequently absorbed in this manner by means of these creeks or chains of ponds, which only during seasons of unusual moisture permit the escape of the surplus waters from a parched and thirsty country.

CHAPTER III.

DESCRIPTION OF AUSTRALIA FELIX.

Agricultural Character of a great Proportion of the Soil of Australia Felix—The Country to the Westward of Melbourne and Geelong—Australia Felix *Proper*, as first distinguished by Mitchell—Country to the East of Port Phillip—Gipps' Land—The North and West of Gipps' Land—General Appearance of Australia Felix.

THE description of the general features of Australia, as briefly set forth in the preceding chapter, is applicable also to the comparatively small portion of its territory which is more immediately the subject of the present work. This general conformity of appearance in the physical aspect of the country, extends also in a remarkable degree to the distribution of the interesting and extraordinary races of the animal world, whose principal types, as the kangaroo, the emu, the laughing jackass,* and various others, may be said to roam over the entire area of Australia. The present chapter is devoted to a more special description of Australia Felix.

* Alcedo gigantea, a bird of the kingfisher kind, uttering a most extraordinary note, which has occasioned a name of no complimentary character.

The symptoms of extensive volcanic action which have been noticed as distinguishing the general physical constitution of Van Diemen's Land from that of New South Wales, are also displayed over a large area of Australia Felix. To the westward of Geelong, for a distance of 200 miles, there is an almost continuous succession of that kind of land whose soil, based upon various descriptions of whinstone and other allied rocks, is usually characteristic of a rich agricultural country. Numerous extinct volcanoes, having well marked craters, are scattered over this extensive region, and give a picturesque variety to the well-grassed plains, the clumps of timber upon hill and dale, and the long lines of gum-trees that mark the courses of the winding creeks. The scenery is in general pleasing and beautiful. So promising a country has been quickly occupied and overspread by the colonists, in the rapid progress of their depasturing settlement.

From the central position of the capital town of Melbourne, proceeding in a westerly direction, we enter upon an open grassy plain, extending for a distance of upwards of thirty miles, and traversed by numerous creeks thickly planted with the homesteads of the settlers, and affording a view somewhat monotonous indeed, but highly characteristic of the pastoral portion of Australian scenery. Continuing towards the west, the traveller encounters the deep and romantic gullies of the Weiribbee and the adjacent creeks; and after traversing numerous grassy hills, occasionally variegated with clumps of trees and denser forest scenery, again

debouches upon an open country, and the vast elevated plains extending from Lake Colac and the river Leigh to the north and west of Lake Karangamite and Mount Elephant. To the south lies the romantic and beautiful district of Colac, whose rich and thickly grassed soil extends for many miles towards the west, interspersed with the remarkable tracts of the *stony rises*. These curious formations occur both here and elsewhere in various parts of the country, and occupy many square leagues of surface. They are usually ranged around or in the vicinity of some extinct volcano. They consist of innumerable hillocks or ridges of rocky fragments varying in height from ten to fifty feet, crowded together in tumultuous array, and traversing in every possible direction.* The adventurous settlers, in first penetrating the principal mass of these rocks situated to the south-west of Lake Karangamite, encountered some difficulties, in

* They are of basaltic character, usually vesicular in structure with a large admixture of iron, and the vesicles often filled or coated with lime. They are commonly thought by the settlers to have been ejected from the neighbouring volcanoes, but have evidently been produced *in situ* from some subterranean force which, at no great depth from the surface, has raised up and broken into fragments the rocky covering which has been previously spread by volcanic action over a great extent of this part of the country. It is remarkable that some of these rises, which are not stony, but smooth and covered with grass, present beneath the soil a stratum of earthy limestone such as we now meet with at the salt lakes in the neighbourhood. The rock of the stony rises is probably below this limestone. We may conjecture that a lake had formerly rested in a hollow of the plain subsequently to the overspread of the trap rock, and that after a time its bed was partially raised up into these present hillocks by some subjacent force probably operating between the base of the rock and the old surface of the country.

their search for pasturage, from the unsteadiness and aberration of the compass. Among some of these stony hillocks, which are not perhaps geologically remote, the observer may fancy to perceive the yet scanty patches of rich earth that are gathered at their base, to be as it were in the act of forming. The soil is a deep brown mould of the richest description, but as yet in most parts very meagerly diffused. These operations of nature are slow and stationary as compared with the fleeting period of human life; but already, in a few of the more open of the innumerable little valleys of this small mountain scenery, the earth has collected in greater quantity; and one may anticipate for a future day the diversified prospect of orchards and gardens fancifully winding among the rocky ridges, and luxuriantly flourishing on a virgin soil.

Leaving to the left, in our westerly progress, the mountainous region of Cape Otway, thickly wooded, scrubby,* and almost entirely unavailable for the pastoral uses of the settlers, we enter by the southern margin upon the tract of country on which the name of Australia Felix was first bestowed by its explorer, Sir Thomas Mitchell. At the time of his expedition in 1836, the western portion of this beautiful district had already been occupied for a period of two years by the Messrs

* The colonial term *scrub*, of frequent and convenient use in the description of Australian scenery, is applicable to dense assemblages of harsh wild shrubbery, tea-tree, and other of the smaller and crowded timber of the country, and somewhat analogous to the term *jungle*, with which the reader may be more familiar.

Henty, who had previously emigrated from the Swan River settlement to the larger and more promising field of South-eastern Australia.* The region on which the name of Australia Felix was originally bestowed, extends from the Glenelg to the Campaspé and the upper waters of the Loddon, embracing, with occasional sterile patches, some of the finest and richest scenery of the country. The western portion expands into green plains, diversified with numerous hills destitute of timber, and covered to the summit with grass; affording an unexceptionable picture to a pastoral eye, but also to a less interested observer attractive from its novelty, and the contrast of a brilliant atmosphere with the verdant landscape. The waters of the Wannon, flowing from the lofty masses of the Grampians, dash over romantic cataracts, and traverse the winding valleys of a pastoral country, supplying with their thousand reservoirs the numerous stations of the settlers. I had the pleasure of beholding two of these waterfalls, both situated in the vicinity of the sheep station of Mr Tulloh, the upper about a hundred, the lower a hundred and forty feet in height. When the river is swollen by the rains of the winter season, the latter is perhaps one of the grandest objects of the kind to be witnessed in nature. The precipice falls inwards to so remarkable an extent as to resemble the semicircular roof of a lofty hall, beneath which the observer, from his secure retreat,

* These gentlemen were the earliest settlers of Australia Felix, having arrived the year previous to the permanent settlement of the country around Port Phillip.

beholds the raging torrent pour over the rocky platform above him. The gorge into which the waters are precipitated has all the appearance of the crater of an extinct volcano; and is crowded with large fragments of rock that have been torn from its sides in the descent of the stream to the adjacent plains.

Pursuing now an easterly direction, after attaining the western limits of Australia Felix, the country becomes more regularly timbered, interspersed with volcanic hills, lakes of salt and fresh water, swamps and patches of sterile ground, until we again emerge upon the open country of the Upper Taylor River and Mount Elephant. The Dundas, Victoria, and Grampian ranges severally diversify the northern margin of this belt of country, where the massive pile of Mount William, pre-eminently conspicuous among the lofty summits of the latter chain, rears its head amidst the clouds at an elevation of 4500 feet above the level of the adjacent plain. Further towards the east occur the humbler elevations of the Pyrenees, consisting of wooded ranges interspersed with clearer grassy tracts serving for the pasturage of sheep. The hills of this extensive area are commonly of granite, and the surrounding country towards the northern portion of the province, with its basis of this material, again assimilates the soil of Australia Felix to that of Australia generally. The banks of the Loddon exhibit a light and dry character of country, comparatively well grassed and suitable for depasturing sheep, alternating with scrubby and unavailable land; and the Wimmera, sweeping its waters in a succession of long

and beautiful reaches towards the north and west, traverses a region of sand and heath, succeeded by jungle and *mallee** scrub, intermingled occasionally with open plains and tolerable pasturage.

Proceeding now to the eastward of our central position of Melbourne and the harbour of Port Phillip, in the direction of Wilson's Promontory and the Lower Gipps' Land Mountains, the general aspect of the country becomes unpromising. Extensive swamps and thick masses of scrubby vegetation alternate with lofty mountain-ranges and an almost boundless forest. The general moisture of this region renders its available localities suitable for cattle, and numerous stations have been occupied throughout the tract situated between Port Phillip and Port Western, where the land is comparatively promising. The swampy flats and the light and sandy soil of the wide-spread forest are here frequently intersected by large patches of good land lightly timbered with the Eucalyptus, the Acacia, and the native cherry-tree, plentifully grassed, and affording a pleasing and park-like scenery. Continuing eastward as far as Corner Inlet, the intermediate country is almost entirely unoccupied by the colonists. It has lately, however, been intersected by a road conducting from Melbourne to the fine pastures of Gipps' Land. The mountainous, wooded, and swampy character of this extensive intermediate country was for some time regarded as an insuperable difficulty in the way of a direct overland communication with Gipps' Land, which only a few

* Eucalyptus dumosa.

adventurous parties had accomplished after incredible danger and fatigue.*

The mountainous region of Gipps' Land, forming the eastern extremity of Australia Felix exhibits features of a finer but still bolder character. Vast forests and continuous mountain-ranges alternate with tracts of a beautiful open grassy country, resembling in some respects the rich and lightly timbered pastures of the western district, but in general more moist, and attended by a cooler climate. The lofty peaks of the Australian Alps, thickly clad with the winter's snow, resist with a protracted struggle the warmth of surrounding spring and the powerful rays of a summer's sun. Mount Kosciusko, the principal of this extensive group, attains to an elevation of 6500 feet above the level of the sea, and commands a view of the surrounding country unsurpassed for its extent and its wild and stupendous grandeur.† From the noble flanks of these ranges the chief rivers of South-eastern Australia take their rise,

* A very circuitous track by the seacoast has been for some years in use by the settlers. The new line of road has been laid out chiefly, I believe, through the personal exertions of Mr La Trobe, the superintendent of the province, and Mr Commissioner Tyers; the former an equestrian traveller of no mean powers of endurance. It passes through a break to the north of the lofty mountain-ranges situated to the eastward of Western Port, which were formerly supposed by Count Strzelecki to be continuous with the Australian Alps.

† Strzelecki looked around from the summit, through the clear atmosphere of Australia, upon an area of seven thousand square miles. Mr Robinson, Chief Protector of Aborigines, and other adventurous travellers, have afforded me descriptions of these magnificent scenes.

and the coolness of their elevated regions tempers the heat of summer to the pastoral occupants of the plains beneath. The adaptation of this part of the country for the depasturing of cattle has already spread the herds of the colonists over all the extent of its available surface that has been hitherto explored. The discovery of the fine pastures of Gipps' Land appears to have been made only so late as the beginning of 1840; in the first instance by Mr M'Millan, overseer for the Messrs M'Allister of New South Wales, but shortly afterwards more thoroughly explored and publicly made known by the celebrated Strzelecki. The name of Caledonia Australis, imposed by the first discoverer, has given way before the present less euphonious designation bestowed by Strzelecki in honour of the late governor of the colony.*

The country immediately to the west and north of Gipps' Land, and around the Upper Goulburn and the numerous other tributaries of the Murray, exhibits an almost continuous succession of mountain scenery; now rearing in gigantic masses of rocks and precipice, per-

* The reputation of the scientific traveller has since completely overshadowed the humbler pretensions of M'Millan. But according to Dr Lang, who enters with some warmth into the merits of the case, the former has appropriated laurels which belonged to another. This appears to be the case at least as far as regarded the accident of priority in the discovery. M'Millan's expedition was in January, and his letter to his employers announcing his discoveries was dated in the following month. Count Strzelecki's expedition was made known in July. The Count is said to have known of M'Millan's previous journey, and to have got upon his track. Phillips' Land, or Port Phillip District, by Lang, p. 217-222.

vious only to the adventurous explorer; again covered with thick and extensive forests, alternated with hills of more open vegetation, whose grassy slopes and valleys have already been sought out and occupied by the colonists. These elevated regions enjoy a bracing climate, and abound in grand and romantic scenery. The copious rains and the melting snow descend through numerous channels to the extensive plains of the west and north, rolling in impetuous torrents amidst the rocks and chasms of the mountain-gorges, or expanding more tranquilly into wider beds, and sweeping in clear and icy streams through the grassy valleys and wooded landscapes of the pastoral country.

The area traversed by the Lower Goulburn and Campaspé, together with the banks of the Murray, comprise the remainder of the Port Phillip territory. This extensive district consists in general of expanded grassy plains, green with the winter's rain, but scorched and dusty with the drought of summer. The lands in the vicinity of the principal rivers are liable to sudden and extensive inundation. These open plains are devoted to the pasture of sheep. The banks of the Murray, which exhibit a greater beauty of scenery and variety of adaptation, are occupied also with horses and horned cattle, and are now being rapidly planted on either side with the pastoral stations of the settlers.

During the autumn, the winter, and the spring, the general aspect of the country throughout Australia Felix is luxuriant and beautiful. The month of October offers perhaps the most favourable season for its inspec-

tion. The air, usually ranging in its temperature about 70° during the day, has attained an agreeable warmth and mildness. The wet of winter has disappeared, and the verdant surface has not yet experienced the scorching heats of the summer's sun. Many parts of the country resemble an expansive meadow, perfumed with the fragrant blossom of the mimosa, fancifully dotted with trees, traversed by running streams, and covered with innumerable native flowers which mingle their bright and varied hues with the vivid green of the universal grass. But the approach of summer sadly reverses the beauties of the spring. Towards the end of November the green surface has usually disappeared, the grass has become parched and yellow, and the picture on which but a month before we had gazed with delight and admiration, has assumed almost the aspect of a desert. This condition of the country generally prevails for a period of three months, with occasional intervals of verdure when the rains of summer happen to be abundant. The dryness and warmth of the air and the parched appearance of the grass during this season, compose a striking feature of the country to the newly arrived emigrant, who is impressed with the idea of singular sterility, as he compares the effect of an Australian summer with the everlasting freshness of an English landscape.

CHAPTER IV.

CLIMATE OF AUSTRALIA.

Its general Salubrity, particularly in its Southern Latitudes—Meteorological Data of the Climate of Australia Felix—Dryness of the Air, and rapidity of Evaporation—Occurrence of severe Droughts—Remarkable Features—Changes produced by Colonization—Hot Winds, their Source and Causes—General Estimate of the Climate of Australia Felix—Healthful Character of New South Wales—Comparison with European Climates.

THE climate of Australia, already proverbial for its general mildness and salubrity, stands in a consoling contrast to the reputed sterility of her soil. In almost every part of the country, the six cooler months of the year, embracing April to September, afford an agreeable temperature; but as we approach the northern or tropical regions, the heat of summer becomes excessive and relaxing. It has been frequently remarked, however, that owing to the extreme dryness of the atmosphere, the same elevation of temperature occasions less inconvenience in Australia than in most other countries. It is rarely, if ever, necessary to remit, for any period of the day, the manual labours of the colonists, merely on account of the heat of summer; and they are re-

peatedly at work in the open air, and under a burning sun, when the thermometer stands at 90° and even 100° in the shade.

The geographical position of the Port Phillip district, as the most southern portion of Australia, gives it a climate in general cooler than that of any other part of that extensive country. From observations extending over the three years 1840-42, it appears that the mean annual temperature at Melbourne, the capital town of Australia Felix, is rather more than 61°, or about 12½° higher than the mean temperature of England, as observed during the same period at Croom's Hill, Greenwich. The temperature at Port Jackson appears to have been 66½°, and at Port Macquarie 68°, while the average of Van Diemen's Land was about 58°. The warmest month of the year at Melbourne, during the period of these observations, appears to have been November, the coldest in general July. Dividing the year equally into two sections, the mean temperature of the six months of summer at Melbourne is found to be 69.4°, and that of winter 53.3°.* Although the

* Strzelecki's New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, p. 229. I have here followed the Count's estimates, as they are conveniently elaborated for my purpose; but they yield results somewhat higher than the mean shade temperatures as reduced and published in the Sydney Morning Herald, an eminent authority on meteorological subjects. The mean shade temperature at the Melbourne Observatory, for the year ending March 1841, was only 57.98°, a result that agrees with what had been anticipated on the subject from observation of the temperature of a spring in a rock at a depth of forty feet below the surface, which was found to be between 58° and 59°. The reader is referred for more detailed meteorological particulars to Appendix A.

average temperature is higher at Port Jackson and Port Macquarie, yet the average of the extremes, both of heat and cold, appears to be greatest at Melbourne.

Count Strzelecki deduces from his observations that the temperature between 8 and 9 A.M. in summer, and between 9 and 10 A.M. in winter, represents the daily mean of each season; and that the minimum of summer corresponds to the mean of winter, and the maximum of winter to the mean of summer. In England the daily mean is usually represented at ¼ or ½ past eight A.M. At the three several meteorological stations within the colony of New South Wales, namely, at Melbourne, Port Jackson, and Port Macquarie, the observations are made at four different times of each day, namely, at 8½ A.M., 2½ P.M., sunset, and 9 P.M.; and it is supposed that the average of each of these series of thermometric indications represents with sufficient accuracy the mean temperature of the entire day to which they respectively refer.*

Notwithstanding the proverbial dryness of the climate of New South Wales, the depth of the annual fall of rain appears to be greater than in some parts of England. The thinly grassed surface of the country, and the open foliage of the Eucalypti and other trees of the Australian forest, permit the moisture to be rapidly returned to the atmosphere. Strzelecki has remarked that, notwithstanding equal shares of rain, and equal powers of evaporation, New South Wales is on this account a drier country than Van Diemen's Land,

* See Appendix A.

whose profuse and shady vegetation is more efficient in retaining moisture.

But New South Wales has been visited in repeated instances by severe and protracted drought. During the years 1827 and 1828, and on another later occasion ten years subsequently, the Sydney district was almost wholly deprived of rain for very lengthened periods. The country in general assumed the aspect of a desert, successive harvests were destroyed, and multitudes of sheep and cattle throughout the interior expired of thirst and exhaustion. The possible recurrence of a calamity so extensive and alarming is a serious consideration with reference to the present enlarged population and important interests of New South Wales. It has been gathered, however, from the testimony of the aboriginal natives, that such destructive visitations are usually of very rare occurrence, probably not taking place more than once or twice in the course of a century. The present extension and increased operations of the Australian settlements form also an annually improving guarantee against the dangers of famine and a total failure of the colonial harvest, as the droughts of the Sydney district do not appear to have affected Port Phillip, Van Diemen's Land, or South Australia.

A remarkable feature in the climate of this part of the world has been observed in Van Diemen's Land, in the regular recurrence of severe frosts at some particular period of summer. In certain localities at Norfolk Plains, all the fruit has been destroyed for several successive years by a frost which occurred about the 1st

of November in each year; and at Georgetown also, a severe frost has occurred every year, for the last twelve years, between the 1st and 9th of December.*

It is a circumstance worthy of investigation with regard to Australia, that her interior reservoirs of water, limited as they already are in extent, appear from a common belief among the colonists, and from several actual instances of observation, to be now gradually drying up. Such is the case with the considerable area of Lake George, situated to the south-west of Sydney, which, though formerly supplied with water, is now generally dry, and forms an extensive plain. The waters of Lake Colac, to the westward of Geelong in the Port Phillip district, seem also to be disappearing. This is a circular sheet of fresh water, about six miles long, and from four to five wide, and so extremely shallow, that in summer the depth is little more than two feet, and in winter from three to four feet. The margin of the lake presents indications of the waters having been very recently at a higher level. Dr Leichhardt remarks, in alluding to this curious phenomenon, that it does not appear to be dependent on the colonization of the country—the clearing and cultivation of the ground. He is disposed to look to some unknown process of change in the atmosphere, a change that may be periodical, and thus afford ground to hope that the future may be more auspicious to Australia.†

The colonization of the country, however, is instru-

* Tasmanian Journal, July 1845, p. 391.

† Lecture, in Sydney Herald, 20th August 1846.

mental in occasioning the disappearance of lakes, and producing other changes by a different and more obvious operation. So long as the soil is bound together by the roots of the natural grass and other spontaneous vegetation, the rains and river inundations are comparatively powerless in bearing it away. But serious havoc is now often made with the ploughed fields of the colonists, and occasionally crop and soil are simultaneously washed off. Even the treading down and disappearance of the grass on the various lines of road is the occasion of large and regular transfers of the soil by the agency of the watery element.

During several months of summer, the equability of the climate is liable to be disturbed by the occurrence of hot winds blowing from the direction of the central interior. These unwelcome visitants usually sweep with great force over the country, quickly parching the ground, withering the smaller vegetation, and occasioning a disagreeable and relaxing sensation of heat. In Australia Felix these winds generally commence about the middle or end of November, recurring at intervals throughout the summer until towards the end of February. At Melbourne they commonly last for one or two days at a time, with a temperature of from 80° to 90° in the shade, ascending sometimes, though rarely, as high as 100°. In the Sydney district they blow with greater severity, and are more apt to injure or destroy the crops; but their occurrence is less frequent there than at Port Phillip. The temperature, on these trying occasions has been observed at Sydney to rise

as high as 120° in the shade. Captain Sturt, while descending the course of the Macquarie in the year 1827, during a long-continued drought, observed that on one occasion, at two o'clock P.M., the thermometer stood at 129° in the shade. These scorching blasts are generally, perhaps invariably, succeeded by a strong breeze from the southward, which, blowing over the cool waters of the outer ocean, occasions an instantaneous change, and a fall in the thermometer of 25° and even 40°.

The recent discovery of the extensive desert of Central Australia has thrown some interesting light on the sources of these winds, which appear to acquire their dry and fiery breath in traversing an extensive tract of country, destitute of water and vegetation, and subjected during summer to the rays of an almost vertical sun. The hot wind reaches Melbourne from a direction generally N. N. W.; at Sydney it is rather more westerly. These relative bearings point to the desert explored by Captain Sturt as the source of this wind; a view which is confirmed by the observations of Leichhardt, during his overland progress from Moreton Bay to Port Essington, who perceived that, as he and his party advanced to the north, the hot winds that were occasionally encountered had gradually altered to a more southerly direction. It was on "the magnificent downs of Peak Range," he states, in latitude about 23° south, that the party experienced the hot wind for the last time, now blowing from the interior in the direction of west and south-west. The great intervening extent of rich and well watered lands, as he proceeded towards

the north, would appear to have at length modified the peculiar warmth and dryness of the wind.

In Australia Felix, the hot winds have commonly ceased during the month of February; but if the summer has been unusually dry, they still recur with some severity in the month of March, and are felt even so late as April. During winter their distinctive character entirely disappears, and the north-westerly winds at that season are generally as cold as those from any other direction. The want of water and vegetation, so productive of heat in the summer months, would then appear indeed to be attended even with an opposite effect. This is strikingly the case with regard to the simoom or fiery blast from the south that is experienced in Egypt, which in the winter season becomes remarkable above all others for its piercing cold.* I have myself repeatedly witnessed, in the Port Phillip district, the effect of moisture in cooling the hot wind. After blowing on one occasion for the space of a day, it was interrupted by a copious rain, which seemed to have extended over a great space of the interior. The wind had been lulled during the shower, but its direction was not altered. On recommencing from the same quarter after the rain had ceased, it was felt at first to be quite cool, and even chill. On the following day it became very perceptibly warmer; and still continuing on the third, the surface moisture being now nearly evaporated, the wind resumed its wonted sensation and

* Russell's Egypt, p. 46. The snow-clad mountains of Abyssinia must assist this extreme effect.

effects, and was terminated soon after in the usual manner by a southerly breeze. The cooling influence of the rain had probably some effect in permitting this extraordinary continuance of the wind. The heated draft would appear to put in operation atmospherical causes that tend to produce a contrary change, and eventually for the time being to terminate its career. In Australia Felix, the duration of the hot wind at any one time is usually about a day, but extending occasionally to a greater period. The warmth materially abates after sunset, and with a few exceptions the night is always agreeably cool.

As these winds generally blow under a cloudless sky, the heat of a burning sun is powerfully superadded to the warmth of the blast, and occasions perhaps the greater inconvenience of the two, when persons are exposed to the open air. In well constructed brick or stone dwellings, when a due care is taken to prevent the ingress of the heated draft, a disagreeable degree of warmth on these occasions is not often experienced.* In the Port Phillip district in the summer season these heated winds may average an aggregate duration of about twenty days, of which number one-third part may have been experienced as disagreeably and oppressively hot. During six weeks of winter the sky may be generally overcast, and the country and the roads inconveniently affected by the continuous showers. But for nearly

* In the reading-room of the Melbourne Mechanics' Institution, which fronted to the south, and away from the sun, the temperature, even in the hottest summers, rarely exceeded 75°.

ten months of the year the climate is unexceptionable. The evenings of summer are in general clear and cool, and attended with a copious dew. The dryness and genial warmth of the air afford an almost uninterrupted daily access to the open country; and there appears in the general buoyancy of the population a degree of enjoyment of existence far beyond what is usually exhibited in the duller climes of the Fatherland.

In a region so favourable to health, most of the complaints with which the colonists are affected may be attributed to their continuance in habits which are suited only to the colder temperature of Britain, or which at least are there less injurious in their effects than in the warmer atmosphere of Australia. The copious use of strong drink and excess of animal food of the richest description bring on various individual diseases, dyspepsia, premature decay of the teeth, and affections of the brain.* Observations, with reference to the comparative mortality that has occurred in the British army at its various colonial stations, have indicated the superior salubrity of New South Wales, where the rate of mortality appears to have been less than has been observed in the case of any other British colony.†

Port Phillip, remarks Count Strzelecki, in its summer season resembles Baden, Marseilles, and Bordeaux; in its winter, Palermo or Buenos Ayres: the fluctuations of its temperature are those of Montpelier, and its annual mean is that of Naples. The thermometric

* Strzelecki, pp. 237, 238. † See Appendix B.

observations assimilate New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, in their summer season, to that part of Western Europe situated between the parallels of 41° 53′ and 55° 57′; and in the winter, to that part of the Mediterranean which is enclosed by the coasts of Spain, Italy, France, and Algiers, extending to Tunis and Cairo; "concentrating within the space of eleven degrees of latitude the elements of seasons most requisite and essential for exalting all the energies of animal and vegetable life."*

* Strzelecki, p. 236.

CHAPTER V.

THE AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES.

Low Development of the Race—Classification in Science—Features of Australia in connexion with the Low Condition of its Original Population; and Reflection with Regard to its New Occupants—Outward General Aspect of the Australian Native—Great Relative Inferiority of the Female—Minuter Personal Description; the Head and Face—Views as to Origin and Language—Innumerable Dialects of the separate Tribes; Often mutually unintelligible—Language of each liable to Alteration—Limited Variety of the Language—Illustrations—Small Arithmetical Progress—Estimate of Population—Uncertainty on this Subject—Estimate for New South Wales and for all Australia.

THAT portion of the human family which presents itself in Australia has been the subject of much interest and curiosity. The man of science examines the deviations of outward appearance, attainments of the most rudimentary character, and manners of the most singular barbarism; and the religious philanthropist reflects with concern upon the destinies of a race which has hitherto resisted every attempt at change, and exhibited an utter indifference to the attractions of progressive comfort and wellbeing, which may be said to constitute the basis of industry and civilisation.

The aboriginal races of Australasia, and of the islands adjacent to the northern coasts of Australia, appear to have been classed by naturalists into two great divisions, which respectively form separate groups among the varieties of mankind. But the distinctive characteristics are not easily traced throughout the widely diffused population of these various localities. In several particulars the Australian differs from the neighbouring Tasmanian native, but is at the same time associated with the remote population inhabiting the interior parts of the Malay Peninsula, of Borneo, and of New Guinea. The Tasmanian natives, on the other hand, appear related to the aborigines of New Zealand, and to those inhabiting the coast margin of New Guinea, and occupying various adjacent islands. The Australian type has been classed under the term Alfourou, and is regarded as exhibiting the lowest samples of the human race.

Modern science has ingeniously suggested that the attainments of civilisation are connected in an important degree with the comparative extent of the seacoast margin of the various countries that have been occupied by the human family. Incessant stimulants to ingenuity, enterprise, and corporeal exertion are furnished by sheltered inlets of the sea, and adjacent islands and transmarine shores; and the facilities of mutual intercourse are also promoted by a general proximity to the great highway of nations. The remarkably square and unindented outline of the Australian coast, and the barren uniformity of a great extent of the interior scenery,

may have produced throughout successive generations an impoverishing effect upon the inhabitants of these remote and unfrequented regions. In contemplating therefore the present rapid progress of an incipient nation of our countrymen, in a land which seems already to have proved so adverse to the mental faculties of its original population, these conjectures of science may cast a gloom over the future history. But society has now perhaps attained an elevation, which, like the effect of the solitary system upon an educated as compared with an uneducated mind, has rendered man less dependent on the accidents of physical geography, and increased his powers to adapt and overcome their unfavourable tendencies.

The aboriginal Australian has been admired for the natural elegance of his carriage, the ease and flexibility of his movements, and the gracefulness of his attitudes in the use of his implements of hunting or warfare. Captain Sturt, during his late adventurous expedition into Central Australia, met with some tribes of aborigines whom he describes as a tall and well made race, measuring in many instances six feet and upwards in height. Any pleasing qualities perceptible in the appearance of the aboriginal native are generally confined to the period of early manhood, and chiefly to the male sex. The young children are disfigured by the great projection of the belly, a characteristic that in some tribes remains with both sexes even in advanced life. The hardships of aboriginal existence are apt to occasion a premature old age, and to dismiss with

summary haste the plumpness and beauty of the youthful form.

The females are much inferior both in stature and general appearance to the males. The grace and dignity frequently pertaining to the latter are rarely perceived in the female. From the custom of carrying her children, and from other domestic drudgery to which she is subjected, her form is less erect, the legs frequently bent outwards, the ankles depressed, and the foot turned inwards. The shape of the mammæ is not spherical but pyriform, and after child-bearing they become flaccid and elongated. In her declining years she is generally a wretched and disgusting object. Her social condition is that of servile bondage to the stronger sex. Nevertheless, in the earlier stages of life she is usually lively, laughing, and contented. Cheerfulness and a full measure of the enjoyment of existence appear indeed to characterize the period of youth in both sexes, when the aborigines are in their natural condition.

All the natives of Australia have a general resemblance to one another in their physical structure; but the features of the face appear nearly as diversified, within their own peculiar sphere, as those of the European, and the expression of the countenance is subject to wide individual diversity. In other respects, however, as, for example, in the stature and general corporeal appearance of the males or females respectively, there is less disparity one with another than is exhibited in the population of civilized countries. Their

wandering and active life prevents any inconvenient degree of corpulency; and the head is never bald, although the hair is frequently white with old age.

In youth, the dimensions of the head appear large, from the bushy covering of its hair, the marked projection of the eyebrows, and the thickness of the skin. The hair is wiry, black, and glossy. Dampier, in the seventeenth century, describes the natives of North-western Australia as having curly hair like that of a negro; a mistake originating probably from the circumstance of their hair being often curled at the extremities. Cook has more accurately, in this particular, represented the aborigines of New South Wales as having their black hair naturally long and flowing;* while the hair of the Van Diemen's Land aborigines was "as woolly as that of any native of Guinea." † A distinguished traveller has described, in the concise phraseology of the science, the more prominent characteristics of the Australian native. The facial angle is between 75° and 85°, the forehead low, eyes large and far apart, nose broad and flat, mouth wide, with large white teeth and thick lips, the lower jaw unusually short, and widely expanded anteriorly.‡ Their remarkably fine teeth appear a constant characteristic of the

* He describes it, however, as also short. I have generally remarked that the hair of the old natives has been cut. The young of both sexes appear to take some pride in preserving the hair, which they are continually anointing and powdering after their own fashion.

† Flinders, Introduction, pp. 57, 90.

‡ Strzelecki, p. 334.

natives, so long as they follow their natural mode of life; but when living with Europeans, and indulging in artificial dress and diet, symptoms of decay make their appearance.*

From the general resemblance that prevails amongst all the Australian aborigines, both in their personal appearance and in their rites and ceremonies, a community of origin may be inferred. From observation of the partial diffusion of peculiar and striking customs, it has been conjectured that this great country was first peopled on the north-western shore, whence the immigrating stream branched off to the east, the south, and south-east, in three great divisions of its primeval population.† The multitude and diversity of the aboriginal dialects or languages has occasioned a difference of opinion as to their common derivation; but it appears most probable that a language the same in root is spoken all over Australia.‡

In many cases, however, the innumerable dialects vary in an extreme degree from one another; and in repeated instances the natives of one locality have been unable to understand a single word of the language of other tribes.§ It has been remarked, as a singular circumstance, that occasionally the dialects of remotely

* Eyre, vol. ii. p. 361. † Ibid. p. 405.

‡ This is the view of Captain Grey and other travellers in Australia. Eyre, vol. ii. p. 404. But Count Strzelecki is of opinion that there has been too much haste in deciding on these affinities, and referring languages mutually unintelligible to one common original. P. 339.

§ Strzelecki, p. 337. Eyre, vol. ii. p. 403.

separated tribes have a close approximation to one another, while those of adjacent localities are mutually unintelligible.* The German missionaries of South Australia have composed grammars and vocabularies to illustrate the languages of two sections of the aborigines in the south-eastern district of that colony, namely, those inhabiting around Adelaide, and the population in the neighbourhood of Encounter Bay. Notwithstanding the vicinity of these locations, the speech of their respective inhabitants is extremely different, not merely in grammatical forms, but also in the radicals of words.

The language of the Encounter Bay natives, however, although so dissimilar to that of adjacent tribes to the north-west, is spoken, with only slight variations, as far as Lake Alexandrina to the eastward, and for some distance to the north, up the stream of the Murray; and even as far as the junction of the Darling, the dialects, like those of the different counties of England, do not greatly diverge from one another.†

The circumstance of the numerous tribes into which the Australian aborigines are distributed, together with an extreme mutual shyness that characterizes these distinct small sections of the population, must tend to produce a gradual modification and diversity of speech. A singular and superstitious practice, prevalent among certain of the tribes, contributes to the variation of their respective dialects. Proper names are generally derived

* Eyre, vol. ii. p. 403.

† Meyer's Grammar, Preface. Eyre, vol. ii. p. 331.

from some object of nature.* On the decease of any individual, the tribe to which he belonged never again make mention of his name; and should occasion require, in regard to any natural object, they invent a new term, to supply the place of the word that has thus been disused. In one instance that occurred with a tribe of Australia Felix, a man, whose name was their word for *fire*, having been murdered by the natives of another tribe, the old term was given up, and a new one invented in its place.†

The Australian language, generally, exhibits a very limited variety, both in the number of its words, and in the range of ideas it is capable of expressing. The aboriginal native has no unusual difficulty in acquiring the English tongue; but this easy acquisition is only after a mode or fashion of his own; and it is long ere he can follow the comprehensive ideas and minute distinctions of our usual and grammatical conversation. The noun, the simple pronoun, and the verb, are the salient points on which he seizes; and he carries on a rude jargon, which requires some practice to follow and respond to. *Bring him horse*, signifies, Go and bring this, that, yonder, &c., horse. What is your name? is expressed by the two words, Name, you?—a very customary commencement of discourse with these laconic savages.

An exposition of Australian syntax is given by Mr Meyer in his grammar of the language of the Encounter Bay natives.‡ The order of the words in

* Eyre, vol. ii. p. 324. † Dredge, p. 7.
‡ Grammar and Vocabulary, p. 21.

their sentences is thus illustrated by an exact translation:

English.	*Australian, translated.*
This is as great as that.	Great that equal being is it this.
This is greater than that.	This great, this greater.
These two are greater than those two.	These two great these two, they two, great they two more.

They appear to labour in the expression of the least complication of ideas. The number of words in their language does not, in Mr Meyer's opinion, exceed 3000 or 4000. In the language of the natives of this locality there is a singular, a dual, and a plural number, but no difference in the substantives on account of gender.* A circumstance strongly illustrative of the limitation of aboriginal ideas appears in the fact that in regard to the names of places, a simple nominative can never be obtained from these natives; the word is always associated with going to, staying at, or coming from such a place.† This limitation of the mental range is further exemplified by their scanty arithmetical progress. The natives of Encounter Bay have distinct names for numbers to the length of three only. Four or a higher number is expressed by a word signifying much or many.‡ A celebrated historian has remarked that arithmetic, from its frequent use in ordinary life, may be taken as a good index of the advancement of society;§

* Meyer's Grammar, p. 10. † Ibid. p. 49.

‡ They have, however, a circuitous mode of expressing higher numbers, thus: Kukko, kukko, four; kukko, kukko ki, five; kukko, kukko, kukko, six; kukko, kukko, kukko ki, seven, &c. Meyer, p. 22.

§ Robertson, History of America.

and, accordingly, the aboriginal Australian under this test must occupy a very lowly position in the scale of human attainments.

Any estimate of the aboriginal population of Australia is rendered uncertain and difficult from the migratory habits of the various tribes. They cannot generally find food in any one locality for more than a short period at one time; so that places occasionally teeming with people, are shortly afterwards entirely deserted, and far and wide destitute of every trace of living being.* In their natural state the aborigines appear generally to keep together in comparatively large bodies, the separate tribes numbering occasionally upwards of three hundred individuals. The observer may therefore form very erroneous estimates of the population, according as these congregated masses happen at particular times to be presented to his view.

On the other hand, no adequate idea of the general aboriginal population can be formed by observing merely the present numbers of the natives that are scattered throughout the colonized districts, as a continuous and rapid decrease has uniformly resulted in those localities that have been occupied by Europeans. Where the supplies of food are abundant and continuous, the population is always comparatively dense. Thus the rivers, inlets, and sea-coasts which afford fish, are generally well peopled. Along the very winding course of the Murray, there are probably, according to Mr Eyre, from three to four inhabitants to each mile of river.

* Eyre, vol. ii. p. 368.

Captain Sturt, during his expedition to Central Australia, discovered a river having a bed as large as that of the Darling, and its grassy banks peopled by very numerous small tribes of aborigines. The vicinity of the rivers that were met with by Dr Leichhardt and his party on their way to Port Essington, appeared well inhabited; and the travellers encountered native fisheries, numerous wells of fresh water, and the remains of vegetable food prepared for preservation.

The entire area of Australia Felix does not probably contain at present more than five thousand aborigines, or about one aboriginal inhabitant to each nineteen square miles. Of this scanty population about one thousand are in Gipps' Land, two thousand in the Western Port, Murray, and Wimmera districts, and two thousand throughout the remainder of the territory. The great extent of the Sydney district, including Moreton Bay to the north, and proceeding westward to the Darling, cannot be estimated to contain above ten thousand aborigines. The present aboriginal population of the located or known parts of the colony of New South Wales may therefore be stated at about 15,000.* The

* Mr Robinson, Chief Protector of Aborigines at Port Phillip, estimated the population of that district nearly two years ago to be at least 5000. There are probably from one to two thousand more aborigines situated within the colony to the westward of the Darling, where the character of the country has lately been found promising. The population of various minuter divisions of the country is given in the Appendix C in a tabular form, drawn up from the answers of clergymen and magistrates to the circulars issued in 1845 by the committee of council for inquiring into the condition of the aborigines.

aborigines of South Australia, in a territory extending 200 miles to the east and 160 miles to the north of Adelaide, have been estimated to number three thousand.*

Since the settlement of Europeans in Australia, the aboriginal population has been rapidly diminishing. We shall enter hereafter more at large upon this subject; it is touched upon at present for the purpose of guiding our estimates of the probable population of districts as yet uninvaded by the colonists, and that of the entire territory of Australia. A striking instance occurs with regard to the native population of the country around Port Jackson, the first location of the Europeans in Australia. In the first year of the settlement, Governor Phillip, in 1788, took the numbers of the aborigines of Port Jackson, by causing inspectors to visit every cove or inlet at the same time. One hundred and thirty were counted, who had with them sixty-seven boats or canoes, and many others were known to be in the woods making these vessels. The governor at that time estimated the population between Botany and Broken Bays at 1500.† This considerable population is now nearly extinct. An aboriginal native called Mahroot, about 50 years of age, belonging to these Botany and Port Jackson natives, stated to the late aborigines committee of the New South Wales

* Estimate of Mr Moorhouse, the Protector of Aborigines, which, however, Mr Eyre, vol. ii. p. 371, considers to be rather an under-estimate, and with the addition of the Port Lincoln Peninsula would double the number.

† Eyre, vol. ii. p. 414, note.

legislature, that in his recollection, in the time of Governor Macquarie, there were about four hundred individuals of his tribe occupying the southern coast of Port Jackson; whereas himself and three women were now all that remained.

The present scanty aboriginal population of the colonized districts is not therefore any criterion by which to estimate other parts of Australia, which are most probably in general more densely peopled. On the other hand, a great though as yet unascertained extent of Central Australia consists of an uninhabitable desert, extending along the southern coast for many hundreds of miles between the two colonies of South and Western Australia. In a general estimate of the present population, we shall not perhaps be far wrong in assuming about 300,000 for all Australia, or one aboriginal inhabitant to every 8 or 10 square miles.

CHAPTER VI.

INDIVIDUAL AND FAMILY LIFE OF THE ABORIGINES.

Infanticide—its general Prevalence; Half-Castes and Females the chief Victims; Motives for the Practice—Size of Families—Naming of the Children—Slight Pains of Labour—Disproportion of the Female Sex—Rearing of the Children—Acuteness of the Senses; remarkable Instance—Duration of Life—Ceremonies; knocking out the front Tooth; Circumcision—Marriage; allowance of Polygamy; little Evidence of Chastity or Conjugal Affection—Kind of Food, and Mode of Subsistence—No Cultivation of the Soil; rude and partial Preparation of Food and Drink—Cannibalism, its prevalence, and repulsive Features; a Species of Duty to deceased Friends—Modes of Dress—Ornaments and Tattooing—Amusements, Singing; Social Meetings—Diseases; Small-Pox; Syphilitic Disease, its Origin and Character—Treatment of the Sick and Aged—Disposal of the Dead—Belief in Transmigration and a Future State.

THE opening page of aboriginal life is foully blotted by the undoubted and extensive prevalence of a practice which we associate in our minds with the extreme of barbarism and cruelty, that of infanticide. And yet it does not appear, judging from numerous examples, that parental affection is necessarily in abeyance under a custom that would appear to originate in a totally op-

posite sentiment. The aboriginal female is not unusually a careful and affectionate mother. In contemplating, therefore, the strange anomaly of a parent deliberately taking the life of a child, we can only speculate on the necessity of particular circumstances, and the force of custom among unreflecting minds which are habituated to the spectacle of human blood. Perhaps we are to regard in the light of a consolatory and redeeming feature to these races an additional circumstance which only multiplies our horror and astonishment, namely, that in repeated and well authenticated instances the murdered offspring is devoured by the parents or tribe. According to the Rev. Mr Wilson of Port Fairy, there are many instances in which this has been done by the male parent; and Mr Parker, one of the assistant protectors of the Port Phillip district, has recorded a case in which an infant was killed and deliberately eaten by its mother and her other children. Infanticide is not always unattended by circumstances of cruel ferocity. A case has been mentioned by Captain Fyans of Geelong, that occurred close to his own residence, where a man took the child by the legs, and dashed its head in pieces against a tree.

The practice of infanticide is somewhat checked throughout the colonized districts, as the natives of this portion of the country are well aware of the feelings entertained on the subject by the colonists. It appears, for example, to have now nearly ceased among the Loddon and Goulburn tribes. In some, but comparatively few localities, it appears never to have been practised.

In the Manero district, for example, situated above Twofold Bay, it is stated by Mr Lambie not to prevail in any shape, and by Mr M'Connell to be unknown at the Clarence River. If infanticide exists at all, says Mr Dunlop of Wollombi, it must be very rare, and occasioned only by the deepest misery and want. But such solitary testimonies afford but a feeble relief from the overwhelming evidence of a contrary practice. Half-caste children, the offspring of colonists by the aboriginal females, are generally the greatest sufferers; in the next degree come their own female infants; but frequently there seems to be no distinction.

There appears in general to be a strong dislike towards the mulatto offspring, increased perhaps by the natural feelings of a husband. In one case of a mother who had destroyed her child, the reason she assigned was that it was half white. An apprehension seems also to be generally entertained that this intermediate race may eventually prove dangerous to the tribe; and, accordingly, they are in most localities regularly destroyed, either at the moment of birth, or on some future and generally very early occasion. The female half-castes, who are considered as in this respect less dangerous than the males, are occasionally spared. In the Bronlee district, north of Twofold Bay, the half-castes, according to Mr Flanagan, generally disappear about the age of puberty.*

Leaving the half-caste and returning to the pure

* See Replies to Leg. Com.'s Circular by the Rev. Messrs Gregor and M'Connell, Mr Schmidt, and others.

aboriginal race, the female infant appears to be much more frequently despatched than the male. In some localities, the former alone is the victim of infanticide; in others, the first-born is destroyed, if of the female sex; or all the females are disposed of until a male infant appears.*

The motives that lead to infanticide have been variously estimated by those who have observed the phenomena of aboriginal life. Undoubtedly the origin of a practice, which appears to be so generally and somewhat systematically pursued, is to be traced to the precarious circumstances of aboriginal existence, and the wandering habits of this wretched population. Accordingly, the trouble of rearing the children, and the inability of the wife to follow the almost incessant movements of her husband and tribe, must be viewed as the principal cause of infanticide.† In the Bronlee district, for example, where infanticide is very common, in the case of twins, one is always destroyed; and in other localities it is said that the aborigines destroy such of their children as are born intermediately, until the first is able to accomplish the journeys of its tribe; that is, until it is four or five years old.‡ But other causes also operate to extend this practice. The encroachment of the colonists, and their practical disregard of aboriginal rights, weigh with discouraging effect upon the

* See the evidence of Messrs M'Donald and Assistant Protector Thomas, and Mr Dredge's small pamphlet on the Aborigines, p. 29.

† Mr Eyre, vol. ii. p. 323, considers this to be the sole cause.

‡ Griffiths' Port Phillip, p. 150.

native mind; so that the presence of the whites is thus perhaps in some instances as efficient to increase infanticide, as in others it has been found instrumental in restraining it. Mr Thomas, one of the assistant protectors of the Port Phillip district, speaks despairingly of the prevalence and even increase of this crime. He mentions an instance of an old chief, who acknowledged he had no power to stop the practice, the blacks stating that they have now no country of their own, and were therefore unwilling to keep their children.

In the natural state of the tribes, each aboriginal wife may bear an average of five children, but in most localities she rears only an average of two.* The others disappear either by infanticide or natural death. The aboriginal population as a whole, prior to the arrival of the colonists, had probably been long stationary as to numbers, any local increase being compensated elsewhere by the instrumentality of their mutual wars, or the occasional extinction of some tribe. Instances have occurred where so many as nine children have been born of one female. A birth of twins appears to be an exceedingly rare circumstance, which, according to Mr Eyre, neither himself nor Mr Moorhouse, the Protector of Aborigines in South Australia, have ever met with. It was ascertained, however, by Captain Grey, that cases of this sort occurred sometimes in West Australia,

* According to Mr Eyre. This is probably the case in districts where the females are equally proportioned to the males. We shall afterwards ascertain that this proportion is often unequal, from the common practice of selecting the female as the victim of infanticide.

and they also happen, though very rarely, in New South Wales.

The intermixture of the colonists, which has uniformly occasioned a decrease of aboriginal population in the colonized districts, has still farther reduced these limited numbers of an aboriginal family. The abandoned intercourse of many of the women, chiefly with the labouring classes of the colonists, thins their numbers by the disease and dissipation to which they are exposed, and renders them generally incapable of child-bearing. Among twenty-one tribes numbering 421 aborigines, located between the River Campaspé and the Pyrences Hills in Australia Felix, there were, according to Mr Parker, but ten surviving children born during a period of two and a half years; and in another case mentioned by Mr Eyre, the annual average of children was only one for each six women. There are numerous other similar instances.

Among the South Australian natives, infants are sometimes at first distinguished as the first, second, or third child, the termination of the numeral denoting male or female. There appears to be also a family name transmitted to generations, and comprehending numerous individuals. Children of both sexes take this name from the mother.*

It appears to be well authenticated that the pains of parturition, so formidable in civilized life, are little if at

* Eyre, vol. ii. p. 324-330.

all experienced by women existing in a rude state of nature. It is remarked by Caillie that the negro women of Central Africa have little or no suffering in the birth of children. They continue to be laboriously employed until the moment of delivery; and even though strangers are present, they will lie down and bring forth, and having washed the child, resume their occupations as if nothing had happened.* Such is also the case in Australia: the aboriginal female is usually following her vocations a few hours after childbirth.†

Among the aborigines who live in contact with Europeans, there appears usually a great disproportion of females. It was ascertained by Mr Eyre, that the numerous natives about the Murray, who, at the time of his observation, were little disturbed by the colonists, exhibited nearly an equal proportion of the sexes. Assuming the same to have been the case at first with the aborigines around Adelaide, he finds, by a census taken in 1843, six and a-half years after the formation of the colony, that the proportions in 150 aborigines were 70 men, 39 women, and 41 children. But we must not overlook the circumstance of the female, among most of the tribes, being chiefly the victim of infanticide, which must seriously affect the general proportion of that sex throughout the country. At Moorunde on the Murray, there was a monthly issue of flour to the aborigines, and the

* Travels to Timbuctoo, &c., vol. i. pp. 163, 351.
† Eyre, vol. ii. p. 323.

total attendance on thirty-three such occasions appears as follows :—

Men,	1266
Women,	1330
Boys,	930
Girls,	559
Infants,	52
Total,	4129

Many of the women probably attended for rations on the part of their husbands; their comparative numbers according to this estimate cannot therefore be depended on as furnishing any accurate representation of the sexual proportions; but those of the boys and girls are likely to approach nearer to the truth. In reducing to an average the various evidence on the aboriginal population lately furnished to the Committee of the Legislative Council of New South Wales, it appears that there are at present among the adult aborigines inhabiting that colony rather less than two females to three males, and that there is also about the same proportion in the sexes among the children.* As the intermixture of Europeans, though destructive of the race generally, is not likely, at least to any considerable extent, to have affected the sexual proportions of the children, we are left to infer that the general disproportion of females, as now exhibited among the Australian aborigines, is chiefly due to another cause, founded in their own cus-

* See this evidence arranged in a tabular form at Appendix C.

toms, namely, the prevailing practice of selecting the female as the sole or principal victim of infanticide.

The wandering habits of aboriginal life compel the mother to a long and burdensome carriage of her child, which is usually swung upon her back, wrapped in a fold of her blanket or opossum rug. She generally appears affectionate to her offspring, a conclusion which is warranted by the cheerful contentment of the object of her care as it dawns into boyhood and youth. The male parent, though a careless and indifferent husband, seems also to be attached to his child. The long pendent mammæ of the female are conveniently available in the remarkable practice of suckling the infant over the shoulder. The children, according to Mr Eyre, are seldom weaned till between two and three years old, though various food is given them during this lengthened interval.* The boys are early trained to the use of their various weapons; the girls gradually fall into the general drudgery allotted to their sex. The superiority in figure and deportment of the male over the female is a striking illustration of the effects of training and education, such as it is, upon the human subject.

The acuteness of the senses is proverbial in savage life. The bushy and projecting eyebrows, and the keen glance of the large black eye, give a commanding character to the countenance of the Australian native. Such of his mental faculties as the meagre circumstances of his position have permitted to be called into active exer-

* Eyre, vol. ii. p. 293.

cise, exhibit a wonderful superiority; and his sagacity occasionally assumes that unerring character which we impute to instinctive rather than reasoning guidance. An extraordinary instance of this kind is recorded by Mr Montgomery Martin, in his Account of New South Wales, relative to a discovery of the murdered body of a colonist. The native was taken to a certain fence, to which the suspicions of a neighbouring settler had been directed, in what appeared to himself a supernatural manner, and where it was subsequently proved the murder had been committed. Some traces of blood still remained, which were carefully smelled by the black. He then went off to a pond in the vicinity, where he collected and tasted some scum on the surface of the water, and pronounced it to be "white man's fat." He next proceeded into an adjoining thicket, and finally pointed out a spot where some decayed brushwood was collected. The body was found beneath the surface at this place. The murderer, as he afterwards confessed, had first thrown it into the pond, where he had left it for several days, and then buried it at the spot so unaccountably traced out by the acuteness of this Australian native.

There is a remarkable degree of mortality during infancy, arising from natural causes, independently of the practice of infanticide. The great proportion of infants do not in general survive the first month. Various vices that are quickly imbibed from European society appear to have sadly abridged the usual term of aboriginal life among those who live in contact with the colonists. Before the age of fifty, both sexes appear emaciated and

worn out. In their natural state, however, it is not improbable that many arrive at a much greater age, notwithstanding the vicissitudes and hardships of their mode of life. According to the observations of Captain Grey, they frequently attain to seventy and upwards; and Mr Eyre mentions that he has seen many individuals who, with their venerable white heads, could not be less than eighty, and who, though wasted in frame, still retained full vigour of mind and a bold and upright carriage.

Most or all of the Australian aboriginal tribes practise certain ceremonies at particular periods of life. Two of these observances are especially remarkable, namely, the habit of knocking out one of the front teeth, and the practice of circumcision. The first is more generally prevalent than the other; but it is curious to observe, with regard to the latter, that it is practised at remote and opposite localities of the Australian territory. It exists among the aborigines of South Australia, and is also found with the tribes inhabiting the shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria.

The ceremony of knocking out a tooth is performed, I believe, as with most or all other of their reputed distinctions, only upon the male native. Among the aborigines of Twofold Bay, who practise this ceremony, and whom I questioned on the subject, it appears to be performed on their entering into early manhood, usually when twelve or fourteen years of age, and consists in extracting the front tooth of the upper jaw. Major Mitchell remarks, with reference to this custom which prevails among certain tribes of the Darling, that it was

found to have disappeared among the natives that were met with after he had passed down the river through a considerable extent of uninhabited country, and that those who did not practise this ceremony were perceived to be much fiercer than the others. He is disposed to think that it is not improbable that this mutilation may be found to distinguish those tribes that are the least barbarous among these aborigines.*

The process of circumcision is performed with much mystical acting. It is not practised among the natives at the Murray, or in Western Australia; but it prevails in the intermediate territory, as far to the westward as the head of the Great Australian Bight. Dr Leichhardt mentions that all the natives who were met with by his party around the Gulf of Carpentaria practised this rite. The natives of the Port Lincoln Peninsula, and other tribes to the westward, have also a still more extraordinary custom of cutting a passage behind the scrotum into the urethra for the exit of the urine.†

In family life there is a species of ceremonial which, at the option of the reader, may be dignified with the name of marriage. In general it is very simple, and attended with the smallest possible consideration for the consent or wishes of the female party, who may be

* Mitchell's Expeditions, vol. i. p. 300, &c.

† Eyre, vol. ii. p. 332. The account of this most singular practice was confirmed to me by a party well informed on aboriginal subjects, Mr Robinson, Chief Protector for the Port Phillip district. The passage, cut immediately behind the scrotum, is intended to be permanent, and to be regularly used as the means of discharge.

simply ordered by the male relative, who has the disposal of her person, to take up her *rocko*, or bag, in which she is to carry the family effects, and go to the husband's camp. Polygamy is very generally practised, the old men in particular being ambitious of possessing several wives. The domestic circle in such cases, as might be expected even in countries more advanced than Australia, is not always orderly and harmonious; and the waddy or tomahawk, useful in peace as well as war, is occasionally exercised by the husband in hammering the brazen head of a turbulent or jealous wife. The husband in general entertains no affection for his wife, who is regarded chiefly in the light of an assistant in contributing to his wants. The tribes are however somewhat punctilious as to rights, and in common with the general feeling among savage races, they are jealous of exhibiting their wives to strangers. In the various meetings with large bodies of the Australian aborigines, the women are seldom seen.* If a wife be stolen, war is always the result, and it is continued until she is given up; but the injured party, "not particular to a shade," may be mollified by the substitution of another female. The wife is the absolute property of the husband, and can be given away, exchanged, or lent as he pleases. Among some of the tribes, however, marriage is a more

* The same custom was found with the natives of Tierra del Fuego, who were visited by the late antarctic expedition in the Erebus and Terror, and who, though on friendly terms with their visiters, were nevertheless most careful in keeping their women out of sight.

systematic arrangement. Females, for example, are often betrothed in early infancy, and the engagement generally adhered to on both sides, the bride going to her husband when about the age of twelve, or even earlier.

The young unmarried females are usually under the care either of their male relatives, or of the old men of the tribe, who avail themselves of their influential position, and barter a daughter or other female relative in exchange for a wife to themselves. From this extensive monopoly of so desirable a portion of the community, the old men acquire a powerful influence over the younger members of the tribe. Relations nearer than cousins are not allowed to marry, and a marriage in this degree rarely occurs.*

In such a state of society, it is perhaps unnecessary to state that the virtues of chastity are neither much appreciated nor generally practised. The aboriginal women, throughout the colonized districts, have frequent and promiscuous intercourse with the whites, chiefly of the labouring classes; and there appears to be no innate principle available to save them from these temptations, and avert a course which we always associate with the most abandoned profligacy. These degraded races, thus unhappily exposed, are indeed utterly unable to occupy the elevated platform of civilisation. The vices of this station, numerous and attractive, are

* For some of these particulars I am once more indebted to the work of Mr Eyre, vol. ii. p. 318-320. They relate chiefly to the aborigines of South and South-Eastern Australia.

readily imbibed, while the accompanying and controlling virtues are not even comprehensible as an object or motive to influence the mind and conduct. In their natural state, they are much less profligate (if one may apply that term where there is probably no proper consciousness of its meaning) than when exposed to intercourse among depraved colonists. Nevertheless, even here there is much indiscriminate sensuality, and they are not free from the accusation of unnatural crimes.*

A vast variety of food is made use of by the Australian natives, comprehending the kangaroo and other quadrupeds, fish and shell-fish, grubs and worms, with various descriptions of roots and other vegetable substances. But their supplies are seldom of a permanent character in any one locality, and the different tribes roam incessantly over the considerable area of territory respectively pertaining to each, picking up their varied diet where the accidents of the weather or the routine of the seasons provide them a temporary subsistence. In a country that is often but scantily supplied with water, they have a wonderful sagacity in finding that essential requisite. They are also expert in spearing fish, and catching in numerous different ways the various animals which they use as food. The opossum, which usually selects for its domicile the hollow stem of a tree, is driven out and caught by a simple process. Having ascertained, by tapping on the trunk, where the animal is placed, or where the hollow part ter-

* It was found necessary, in some of the aboriginal schools, to separate the boys from the girls, even at very tender years.

minates, the native makes an incision at the proper spot, and smokes him out of his retreat by introducing a burning stick beneath. The wombat, another animal having the dimensions and somewhat of the appearance of a small hog, ensconces himself at the further extremity of a long burrow underneath the ground, and the site of his dwelling is readily indicated by the pile of earth he has ejected in its formation. A small child is sent into the narrow habitation, who squeezes himself forward until he arrives at the object of his search. He then sagaciously taps on the roof, as a signal to those without, who with their ears to the ground are closely watching above him. When the place of the animal has thus been ascertained, a hole is soon dug into the burrow, which is usually horizontal, and only a short depth from the surface; and the little adventurer still occupying his place, and opposing his body to a retreat, the victim is quickly secured.

The aborigines are fond of congregating in the towns, where scraps of various food are always picked up. They occasionally assemble in great numbers, and are constantly attended by swarms of dogs, a mongrel breed between the native Australian and European, and always in a famished and mangy condition from their limited or irregular supplies of food. The natives appear, however, to be much attached to these ungainly animals, and a late proscription of all vagrant dogs by the authorities of Melbourne had the happy effect of almost entirely banishing their owners from the vices and temptations of the town. Rations of flour and

other provisions have been from time to time issued by the government to various tribes of the aborigines, chiefly by means of the Protectorate agency, which shall be more fully alluded to in a subsequent chapter.

The Australian native does not appear to have ever attained, even in the lowest degree, to any cultivation of the soil. Year after year he has roamed over the wide expanse of his ancestral territory, picking up the uncertain offerings of nature, without any effort of his own ingenuity to adapt her laws to a more regular supply of his wants. In some few localities a slight advance has indeed been effected beyond the general zero of these attainments, by the practice of preparing, after some rude and simple fashion, several seeds and fruits of the spontaneous vegetation of the country. During Captain Sturt's expedition into Central Australia, he met with a numerous body of aborigines encamped on the grassy banks of a large creek, who presented him and his party with troughs of water and baked seeds. During the night that the travellers spent with these natives, the women of the tribe were engaged to a late hour in bruising seeds for cakes, an operation whose noise resembled that of the working of looms in a manufacturing town. The fruit of the Cycas, according to Dr Leichhardt, is also prepared by the aborigines of the Gulf of Carpentaria. During the month of September it is used as the principal article of food. When prepared for preservation, it is cut into thin slices, which are first dried, then soaked in water, and finally packed up in sheets of tea-tree bark. In this state it undergoes a

process of fermentation by which the deleterious properties of the fruit are destroyed, and a mealy substance with a musty flavour remains, which the blacks probably bake into cakes. These natives appear to like also the fruit of the Pandanus, of which large quantities were found in their camps, soaking in water contained in vessels formed of stringy-bark. Dr Leichhardt supposed that they also obtained a fermented liquor by soaking the seed-vessel of the Pandanus, and washing out the sweet mealy substance contained in the lower part between the fibres. Mr Robinson, the Chief Protector, ascertained, during his expedition in 1845 to the N. W. of Australia Felix, that the natives of the Wimmera prepare a luscious drink from the laap, a sweet exudation from the leaf of the mallee (Eucalyptus dumosa). This liquor is manufactured in the months of February and March, on which occasion there is commonly a festival and the adjusting of mutual disputes.

It may perhaps be regarded as an improper arrangement of my subject, and even an insult to human nature, that I should introduce the practice of cannibalism at this part of the work, in immediate connexion with the question of human food. It is indeed hard to believe that if cannibalism exists at all among human beings, it is anything but a merely transient occurrence, thrust as it were upon a degraded and unreflecting people by force of accidental circumstances, and continued from ancestral usage, and therefore pertaining to a moral rather than a physical division of this description of the aborigines. But such is by no means the

case with the natives of Australia. Within the last two or three years, the evidence collected with regard to their practice of cannibalism has been more varied and decisive than had been previously ascertained. They appear by their institutions and laws, if they may be so termed, to afford for themselves constant opportunities of enjoying the luxury of human flesh.* Nor is their selection limited to enemies slain in battle, and devoured in a spirit of revenge; they appear, either from fancied duty or inclination, or a mixture of both feelings, even to prefer the flesh of their own friends and relations who have died in the course of nature; and the circumstances attending these occasions of festivity are sometimes of so callous and brutal a character as to be hardly credible of any section of human beings.

Mr Sievright, late one of the assistant protectors in Australia Felix, has described a very gross case of which he was himself a witness, where the body of a young woman, who had died from wounds received from a hostile tribe, was afterwards devoured by her own friends, who thronged impatiently to their repast, and literally tore off the flesh from the bones.† Other cases are yet more unnatural and disgusting. A medical gentleman related to the Rev. Mr Wilson of

* They have abundance of food throughout the country; but "they eat, I must also add, human flesh; for beyond all doubt they are gross cannibals." Rev. John Gregor, Brisbane, 5.

† Mr Eyre, who regarded this practice as very partial and of rare occurrence, remarks that this is the only authentic and detailed account of cannibalism among these aborigines that he has met with. Vol. ii. p. 256 and note.

the English church at Belfast, Port Fairy, an instance in which a notorious black, known by the name of Sou' Wester, had eaten a large portion of the body of another native who had died in a miserable condition of disease. This monster in human shape, as he may literally be called, had plucked out and devoured the heart, together with the fleshy portions of the thighs, hands, and feet. The quality and quantity of such a meal had occasioned his requiring medical aid, which was administered to him by the informant. In another instance, a child had fallen with its elbow into the fire, which occasioned mortification at the part affected; so that the hand, a little above the wrist, soon after suppurated and dropped off. The detached and diseased fragment was immediately picked up and devoured by another black.*

Shocking as this practice appears to the European mind, it would seem nevertheless, to the aboriginal Australian, to be sometimes equally a duty towards the dead and a consolation to the living, that the body should be partaken of by the relatives or members of the tribe. It can scarcely be denied that, in thus appropriating a deceased friend, the bereaved survivors are making the most of what death has left them. During the expedition undertaken from Melbourne last year, to attempt the recovery of a white woman who was understood to have fallen among the Gipps' Land blacks, it was ascertained that these aborigines were in the habit of devouring the bodies of deceased gins or wives, which they roast or bake after their own fashion, and

* Rev. J. Y. Wilson, 17.

thus dispose of instead of burying.* Mr Simson remarks of the aborigines of the northern part of New South Wales, that notwithstanding a great affection for their children, they are known in some localities to eat them when they die from natural causes; and the author was personally informed to the same effect regarding the natives of the Colac district in Australia Felix, now however nearly extinct, whose custom was, on the occasion of the natural death of young persons, to deliver over the bodies to be eaten by the old women of the tribe.

The kidney fat is generally a much coveted morsel of the human body. But this predilection is probably less associated with a mere animal appetite, than with certain superstitious fancies relating to that part of the system, which seems to be regarded as peculiarly connected with life. Among some of the Port Phillip tribes, a death, though occurring from evident natural causes, is usually attributed to the deprivation of the kidney fat by the unseen but successful attack of some member of an inimical tribe. Measures of revenge are duly projected. The fat is plucked out and voraciously devoured by hostile natives, frequently from the body of a living prisoner; and doubtless their theories are strengthened by the assured fact that the deprivation of this member results in death.

The mode of dress is very simple, and commonly consists of a rug or cloak made of skins thrown loosely around the body, and without much effort, with either

* Port Phillip Herald, 26th November 1846, stated by Sergeant Windredge of the Police, who was with the expedition.

male or female, at any modest concealment of the person. This simple garment is generally manufactured from the skins of the opossum, which have a soft and warm fur. The skins are first dried, rubbed into pliability by the hand, and then stitched together in square pieces, with tolerable neatness, so as to form a rug about five or six feet square. They dislike any other kind of clothing, such as that of the usual European fashion, which in any degree restrains the free action of the limbs, and have been known, on leaving town, to burn or throw aside very good clothes of this description which had been given them by the colonists.

They have a great partiality for blankets. The colonial government was formerly in the habit of distributing these articles in considerable numbers, particularly among the older blacks. But within the last few years this practice has been almost given up, under an impression that the privilege had been generally abused or disregarded by the blacks, and that many of these well intended presents had found their way to low public houses, in exchange for spirits supplied to their unfortunate owners. It would appear, however, from the tenor of the answers furnished to the Legislative Committee's circular, that the great majority had highly prized their blankets, and seriously missed the accustomed distribution, the want of the blanket during winter having in some instances occasioned the death of the older natives. Mr Dunlop describes the plaintive but indignant remonstrance of a native chief at the discontinuance of the miserable dole on the part of

the government "to his very few old women and sick young ones, all so cold—no hut—no blanket—no light fire on white fellow's ground."

Various ornamental additions to dress are used by both sexes, such as necklaces of shells, teeth, reeds, &c. The Worrigals, a Gipps' Land tribe, are in the habit of wearing the hands of deceased friends, which are made in a state of fine preservation, and slung around their neck as a token of affection.* The tattooing of the body is also practised by the Australian savage. This is usually exhibited on the breast and back, and not, as with the New Zealanders, on the face; and consists most frequently of a number of deep cuts, arranged either in lines or other figures, down the back or front of the body, and acquiring a projecting appearance when healed. The process of tattooing was formerly performed with a shell or piece of flint, but since the arrival of the colonists, a fragment of bottle-glass has been found a more efficient instrument. The operation, as may be supposed, is of a painful character, and from the extent of the incisions, the ground is drenched with the blood of the sufferer. It is resolutely submitted to by the male, but the female often exhibits a miserable spectacle, shrieking piteously under the ruthless operator.

Their modes of amusement are few and simple. The exact object or meaning of their famous *corrobboree* or native dance, beyond mere exercise and pastime, has not as yet been properly ascertained; but it seems to

* Mr Warman's Journal, Port Phillip Herald, 25th February 1847.

be mutually understood and very extensively practised throughout Australia, and is generally a sign of mutual fellowship and good feeling on the part of the various tribes, who meet together from time to time at appointed places, and exhibit their skill to one another.

Captain Grey, in his description of the aborigines of West and North-west Australia, remarks that they are much addicted to singing, which they practise alike as a pastime, an indication of enjoyment, and a consolation in trouble and affliction. Their songs are extremely simple, consisting usually in the expression of one or two ideas continually repeated. A favourite song of the natives in the district of the Murray in West Australia, on the occasion of an expedition of any of their friends, and which they sing over and over again for an hour together, is thus translated :

> " Return hither, hither ho,
> Return hither," &c. &c.

The old women of the tribes are industrious singers, and acquire by their musical exertions a wonderful influence over the men, whom they occasionally rouse almost to a state of phrensy, by the relation of some circumstance calling for interference or revenge. Songs of this sort are more copious in ideas than usual, and are pertinaciously maintained by the old hags, who successively carry on the subject, a second commencing when the first has given up from exhaustion.

When the tribes meet for festivity, and have no deaths to avenge, they are often extremely civil and social one with another. Strangers are formally intro-

duced, the senior blacks describing to the company the country and lineage of their new acquaintance. Past occurrences are talked over, localities where food is abundant are mentioned, and invitations given to relations and friends by the proprietors of these different districts to accompany them thither. The females by themselves are meanwhile engaged after their fashion. Births, marriages, and deaths, are duly discussed; and the relation of family occurrences acquires a *piquant* edge by a sprinkling of gossip and scandal.*

I am not aware of any disease of a general character that prevails among these aborigines, except such as have been introduced, in common with other calamities, by the arrival of the colonists. Two constant attendants of civilized man, the small-pox and the venereal disease, have spread with dreadful havoc even to the remote interior among the unfortunate natives, unwittingly exposed to their attacks, and liable to the severest visitations from their own irregular mode of life and the absence of proper medical assistance.

Shortly after the foundation of the colony of New South Wales, a disease resembling the small-pox broke out with great virulence among the aborigines, and rapidly reduced their numbers, which had previously been very considerable.† The natives of the Darling also, according to the observations of Sir Thomas Mitchell during his expedition to that river, appeared to have been

* Eyre, vol. ii. p. 225.

† Lang's History of New South Wales, second edition, vol. i. p. 36.

much thinned in numbers by some similar disease; and judging from their dirty mode of living, and the marks upon the persons of the survivors, the complaint must have raged with great violence. Mr Eyre remarks that a disease like the small-pox, and leaving similar marks upon the face, seems to have extensively prevailed in former times among the South Australian aborigines; but it does not now occur, and has not been experienced for many years. It is said, by the natives themselves, to have come originally from the eastward, and was probably derived from Europeans, and the infection carried from tribe to tribe. The leucorrhœa is also a prevalent complaint among the women, raging with great severity. Count Strzelecki mentions a curious circumstance in regard to this affection, which he states to be attested by various experience, namely, that its introduction among uncivilized races appears to be cotemporary with the arrival of European females in the country.*

But by far the most terrible of these accompaniments of colonization has been the spread of syphilitic disease. It has indeed been doubted that the introduction of this malady is due to Europeans, as it has been found to exist among tribes which had never previously communicated with the colonists, and who, when questioned

* Strzelecki's New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, p. 347. The count has made another statement in connexion with the effects of European colonization upon rude aboriginal tribes, which, if true, would be still more remarkable, but which I have occasion totally to contradict, so far at least as regards the aboriginal natives of Australia. See Appendix D.

upon the subject, could afford no satisfactory information as to how or when it appeared amongst them. But it is thought to be of a milder character and of less frequent occurrence among those tribes that have not mixed with Europeans. The South Australian natives have stated that it long since came amongst them from the inauspicious direction of the east; and from this and other concurrent circumstances, it is probable that this dreadful scourge of civilized man was introduced here as well as elsewhere by the presence of the colonists. The agency of our countrymen has, at all events, been terribly effectual in disseminating this disease, whose destructive effects on the aboriginal constitution stand prominently forward among the more immediate causes to which the present rapid decrease of the black population is attributable. Mr Thomas, one of the assistant protectors of aborigines, relates the shocking and frightful extent to which this complaint prevailed throughout the Port Phillip district on the first establishment of the protectorate. "Old and young, even children at the breast, were affected with it: I have known hapless infants brought into the world literally rotten with this disease."

Insanity, so common in the civilized world, is, I believe, altogether unknown among the Australian aborigines. Physical deformities are occasionally met with. A considerable number lose the use of one, some of both eyes; a few are deaf and dumb; others infirm in their limbs. They use several herbs as medicine, and cure their syphilitic disorders by abstaining from animal

food and using gum-water. The blind and infirm are generally well treated while young; but afterwards, when felt to be a burden, they are at once deserted and left to perish. This is the common fate of helpless old age. Authority is usually measured by years; but the gray head is respected only so long as its owner is useful to the tribe and can manage to shift for himself. When from failure of strength he becomes an impediment to the movements of his fellows, every tie is broken, and he is at once abandoned to his fate, apparently without mercy.*

There appears to be a great variety in the modes of disposing of the dead among the different tribes of aborigines; and it is also usual to have certain different modes and ceremonies in the same tribes, according to the age and sometimes the sex of the deceased. Burial is a frequent practice, particularly with those of a certain age; some are consumed with fire, while others are lodged in the hollow of a tree. It is no uncommon practice, as I have already mentioned, to eat the bodies of the younger members of the tribes. Among the Gipps' Land aborigines, according to Mr Warman, who attended the late expedition already alluded to, there is a custom of carrying about with the tribe the body of a deceased friend, even after it has assumed a nauseous state of decomposition. The head is taken off after death, and the legs doubled up so as to form the body into a square package, which is then wrapped up in an opossum rug, and made use of as a pillow. Eventually it

* Eyre, vol. ii. pp. 315, 321, 382.

is deposited in some hollow tree.* There are four different modes of disposal of the dead among the South Australian natives, as described by Mr Eyre. Old people are simply buried. The bodies of still-born children, or such as die shortly after birth, are burned. Those to whose memories it is intended to show respect have their bodies placed in a sitting posture, without any covering, with their face to the east; after being dried for some time by the sun, they are finally placed in a tree. Middle-aged people are also lodged in trees, where their bodies, unless carried off by hostile blacks, remain till quite wasted away. It is a remarkable fact, that in this instance the nearest relative then appropriates the skull, to be made use of as a cup. Most of the gins or wives possess this unseemly description of calabash, which they usually fabricate for themselves; and they appear to have practised the art of fashioning these vessels from time immemorial. It has been remarked by Professor Owen, that this is the first instance to be met with of the habitual conversion of a part of the human skeleton to a drinking-vessel.

They manifest in general a strong repugnance to visiting a spot where one of their tribe has happened to die. At the German mission at Lake Macquarie, where several natives had been induced, after many abortive attempts, to erect slab huts for their own residence, a death having occurred a few weeks subsequently, they deserted their new abodes, nor could any entreaty or the inclemency of the weather induce them to return.

* Journal, in the Port Phillip Herald of 25th Feb. 1847.

Aboriginal tombs or mounds of earth are met with throughout the country, and in some localities are found crowded together after the fashion of a cemetery. Notwithstanding a very vague conception of what may be dignified with the title of religion, the Australian natives entertain a very general belief of a future existence, a kind of transmigratory state to which, from some law or accident, they will find themselves subjected after death. They believe that they are to assume some other form of man or animal; and it is a very common understanding amongst them, that all the present white colonists are their own friends or ancestors who have thus risen from the dead. They have insisted so earnestly on this point, that these opinions may be regarded as a kind of settled doctrine. In some instances old females, who had taken a fancy for particular colonists, have argued themselves into a state of angry excitement because they were not recognised by their supposed former children and associates. A native, several years ago executed at Melbourne, whose case is mentioned by Mr Hull of Melbourne, appeared resigned to his fate under the consolatory view that he himself should afterwards be one of the colonists, remarking that he would "jump up a white fellow, and have plenty of sixpences."* They seem greatly to envy the colonists for their apparently unbounded possession of money.

* Mr Hull's small pamphlet, Remarks on the Aboriginal Natives, &c., p. 11.

CHAPTER VII.

GOVERNMENT AND LAWS; SOCIAL RELATIONS; RELIGION AND SUPERSTITIONS.

Preliminary Reflection—No permanent Place of Abode—General Features of their Polity—Distinct Character of the various Tribes; Mutual Aversion; Wars; Systematic Revenge of real or imagined Injuries—Caution in approaching one another; Strzelecki's Anecdote—The Spirit of these Peculiarities destroyed by the Presence of the Colonists—Religious Ideas vague and indefinite—Inability to grasp at abstract Notions—Traditions.

The reader must not expect, from the stately title of this section, that he is about to enter upon a scene of political or social wisdom, or search among venerable traditions for vestiges of his own faith. The preceding chapter must have prepared him for the burden of the song in the present instance. The most barbarous and unreflecting races fall naturally into some modes of existence having certain mutual relations; and these, under a general principle of nomenclature, are dignified by names that we are accustomed to associate with far higher attainments in the scale of nations. With this prefatory explanation, we shall now examine the political, social, and religious fabric.

The Australian savage forms no permanent residence, has no individual appropriation of the soil, and possesses no structure that can receive the denomination of a dwelling. Some localities may exhibit a construction of bark or turf, resisting for a season the consuming hostility of the weather, and dimly suggesting to the doubtful traveller that he witnesses the work of a human hand,—the record of the former presence of a fellow-being. But in general the only edifice made use of is a mere open break-weather, formed in a conical semicircle, with a few sheets of bark and small branches of trees. Each family constructs this description of wigwam at the various halting-places of the tribes; a fire is lighted in front of the open and airy mansion, and the party is regularly gathered at night around the domestic hearth, with no other roof overhead than the spacious canopy of heaven. They rarely remain at rest in any one place for more than a few days at a time, and they are not disposed to make a second use of any old encampment. The very limited nature of their present attainments does not appear, from any existing remnants of the past, to have been exceeded during any period of their previous history. They are remarkably inferior to the aborigines inhabiting the adjacent islands and coasts of Torres' Straits, who traffic one with another, navigating the seas with large canoes fifty feet in length, which they manage with surprising skill. Flinders describes in favourable terms the aspect of some of these coasts. Darnley's Island in particular had a fine appearance and a dense population. Huts

constructed of bamboo were seen surrounded with neat fences enclosing small plantations of yams, cocoa nuts, and other vegetables.* The canoe of the Australian native is usually a strip of bark capable of containing only a single person.

The distinctive character of the innumerable tribes into which this aboriginal population is divided, is probably the occasion of difference in various particulars of the government and laws established in each community; but there is a general agreement in the main outline. Frequently very limited in the number of members, these tribes seldom consist, even at the most, of more than two or three hundred individuals; but whether they be large or small, weak or powerful, they seem always perfectly distinct, separate from and independent of one another, each inhabiting its own tract of country. There does not appear to be any system of acknowledged chieftainship, such as exists, for the obvious purposes of unity and strength, among the neighbouring New Zealanders and other more advanced races of men. The general control and management of affairs appears to be, by mutual consent, in the hands of the adult or elderly males of the respective tribes. As the younger males advance in life, they are gradually initiated into the mysteries of religion and government. The females are generally unenlightened on these topics. The meetings of the old men are of a sacred and secluded character, and it is highly offensive and dangerous to

* Flinders' Voyage, Introduction, section 1.

intrude upon them. Strzelecki describes his own risk on one occasion, from being in the vicinity of one of these secret assemblages.

An implacable spirit of mutual enmity occasionally influences the different tribes. They generally meet in the battle-field by mutual consent and agreement; but sometimes they fall unawares upon their enemy. Occasionally, though rarely, this is done during the night, but frequently at the early dawn. Whole tribes have been extirpated by the incessant attacks of determined foes. This was the fate several years ago of a tribe situated between Western Port and Corner Inlet, which was finally extinguished by repeated descents of the Gipps' Land blacks. In general, however, their battles are not of this sanguinary character. The spears are hurled with precision, but they are warded off by the watchful enemy. The skin is rather delicate and the flesh soft, which makes them careful of wounds inflicted upon any part of the body. The hard and quiescent region of the head occasions less anxiety to its owner; and the iron skulls of the combatants, often proof against the stoutest strokes, ring with unavailing noise under the blows of the waddies.

The mutual antipathies and occasional wars of the tribes most probably arise from the distinctive character maintained by each, and the exclusiveness of feeling that results from this cause. In imitation of a common failing, the respective communities regard with a disparaging eye all who are beyond the sphere of their acquaintance. The "barbarians of the outer seas," as the

Chinese denominate their fellow-mortals, may be expressed in Australian fashion as the "wild black fellows" of other tribes. These illiberal sentiments engender mutual suspicions, and occasion the practice of peculiar and unsocial customs. A stranger who presents himself suddenly or uninvited amongst them is liable to suffer death. This sanguinary custom may perhaps be traced to a superstitious but very general belief that the death of any member of a tribe is occasioned by the hand of some enemy who has come upon him unawares. Any stranger found in the camp is therefore suspected of being upon this hostile mission. So general is this exclusive and hostile feeling, that it is even advisable, as a public measure, to prevent parties from taking blacks out of the district originally pertaining to their own tribe. In repeated instances, even when in company with Europeans, they have been speared or put to death for no other assignable reason than that of being uninvited strangers in the territory of some tribe. Major Mitchell remarks the great caution manifested by the natives when they approached the vicinity of the haunts of other tribes. They warily entered scrubs, and called out (*cooyed*) repeatedly in approaching water-holes, even when yet at a great distance.*

In connexion with superstitious notions, these feelings have originated a system of avenging the death of any member of a tribe, even though occasioned by accident or natural causes. It is a common custom, as already

* Three Expeditions, vol. i. pp. 199, 200.

mentioned in the previous chapter, to attribute a death to the secret abstraction of the kidney fat on the part of some member of another tribe. The plan adopted for the discovery of the supposed criminal is to watch the course of any insect or other living creature near the body, and to follow in that direction until they reach their prey in the person of the first strange native.

Count Strzelecki gives an interesting description, in relation to these peculiarities, of his rencounter with a tribe of aborigines during his wanderings in Gipps' Land. Descending from the mountains with his native guide, the tribe was perceived on the plain beneath, encamped around a pond. As the traveller had been several days without water, he would have instantly rushed forward to quench his burning thirst; but his companion, more acquainted with aboriginal customs, earnestly prevented him, and they sat down near the encampment. A quarter of an hour had thus elapsed, when a piece of burning wood was thrown towards them. With this they lighted their fire, and proceeded to cook an opossum they had in store, the guide in the mean time exhibiting various symptoms of further wants —gnawing the stick, occasionally stirring the fire, or casting a side-glance towards the company. The acceptable present of a calabash of water was shortly afterwards brought to them; and the traveller, having appeased his hunger and thirst, was preparing to refresh his weary limbs in sleep. But this was not the proper order of things in the contemplation of his aboriginal hosts. An old man now came forth from the

camp, who was met half-way by the count's native guide, and a parley ensued as to the object of the white man's wanderings. This was not perhaps very easily explained to such inquirers. The old man having returned with the answer, a piercing voice was next heard relating the subject to the tribe. After a few moments' silence, the travellers were ordered to return whence they came. There was no appeal.*

The intermixture of Europeans has greatly subverted these aboriginal customs. The perpetual vicinity of a cold imperturbable but overpowering civilisation has gradually sapped their polity, and probably destroyed for ever a variety of cares and adventurous vocations, which, though perhaps worse than useless in the eye of an enlightened mind, were nevertheless adapted to aboriginal circumstances, and doubtless operated as essential stimulants for the proper support and enjoyment of that particular existence. Various tribes of the settled districts have thus lost almost entirely their distinctive character; and in proportion as they have done so, they appear to have sunk still lower in the human scale. The departure of their ceremonies and superstitions, their prejudicies and passions, has carried with them the native energy, and left only a torpid indifference and a new degradation.

The religious ideas of these aboriginal natives are

* Strzelecki, p. 340. They are extremely punctilious and polite where their peculiar rules of intercourse are ascertained and followed, and even strangers exchange the most friendly and affectionate terms.

still a subject of mystery to the colonists. In general they seem to have very undecided views, and cannot explain themselves connectedly and logically upon the subject. They sometimes appear to have a notion of Deity. Like the aboriginal native Mahroot, who was questioned on this matter by the committee of the New South Wales legislature, they have an idea that "there is something over them;" but they have no rational and consistent notion of any Creator or Moral Governor of the world; and any attempt to elucidate the simplest particulars generally ends in absurdity, or occasions their branching off, imperceptibly to themselves perhaps, to some different idea. The native Mahroot above mentioned, who was well acquainted with the English language, and of whom various questions were asked relating to religion, answered, that what was over them was called *Boy*, and was the same as the white people called *devil*, and that *Boy* would take black fellows to where he lived. Nothing further could be got from him, and he had doubtless been guided, even to this small extent, by the oaths and tales he must have heard in his frequent intercourse with the colonists. For example:

Q. "Was *Boy* a good or bad being?"

A. "That is his name—just same as you call *devil*."

Q. "Do you think all go to *Boy* or some to the *devil*?"

A. "Some say they will go to be a fish, or turn out a whale. That is the way they say."

Q. "What is the meaning of *Boy?*"

A. "The *devil*," &c. &c.

This want of understanding, this inability of the mind to grasp at any abstract idea in matters of religion, or indeed in any other subject, is a conspicuous feature of these aborigines, and has perpetually frustrated all the efforts of the missionary, who finds the same lack of comprehension as he labours to instil the principles of the christian faith. There is either something wanting in their minds, remarks the Rev. Mr Schmidt, that occasions this defect of understanding upon abstract matters, "or it is slumbering so deeply, that nothing but divine power can awaken it. They have no idea of a Divine Being; the impressions we sometimes thought we had made upon them proved quite transient. Their faculties, especially their memories, are in some respects very good; but they appear to have no understanding of things they commit to memory —I mean connected with religion."*

In common with other races of men, they have all their different traditions in connexion with religious and superstitious notions. This legendary lore may indeed always be looked for wherever there exist the powers of memory and conversation; and a much greater importance is apt to be attached to such interminable and diversified narratives than they can possibly deserve. Our aboriginal friends, noways

* Evidence given before the Aborigines Committee in Sydney.

behind their fellow-men in traditionary art, are prepared at all hands with an endless profusion.* The beginning of mankind, the origin of disease, the introduction of death—a separable accident, the occurrence of inundations, and of one in particular of unusual magnitude, are all set forth in a varied dress, and stated and commented on after the usual fashion of rude and simple minds. Doubtless in some selected instances, a likeness may be found to the Christian or Jewish history, and probably more or less to most other traditions. One might perhaps respect such accidents, if there appeared, in any particular case, to be a general concurrence of aboriginal belief. But this is rarely the case. They all appear to have their own different and variegated tale of the past; and it is often easier to find a coincidence arising from accident, or the general similarity of mankind in the traditions and idolatrous practices of nations mutually remote from each other, than to discover analogies in those of adjacent tribes.

* Mr Hull, in his pamphlet already quoted, has collected many of these tales and traditions.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ABORIGINES IN THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE COLONISTS.

Regular Displacement of Savage Aboriginal Races—Case of Van Diemen's Land; prophetic of that of Australia—Frequent Disturbance at the first Settlement of a New District—Instances in the Western Districts—Wholesale Slaughter of the Natives—Late Murder of a Colonist by the Murray Natives—Capture of the Murderers—Attack of the neighbouring Aborigines to rescue their Comrades—Their Attacks not irregular Impulses, but systematic though indiscriminate in their System of Revenge; Instance to this Effect—Instance of Colonial Atrocity towards the Blacks—Docility of the Natives when accustomed to the Colonists; but never radically changed—Occasionally employed by the Colonists—Native Police—Case of two Van Diemen's Land Blacks who appeared to have been long civilized—Legislation; its Difficulties in their Case; Instances—Acts relating to the Australian Aborigines—Attempts to civilize and convert the Aborigines; have all failed—Repeated Efforts and Missions—Civil Institution of the Protectorate; also a Failure—The Old Natives totally irreclaimable—Attention turned to the Young—Difficulties and Opposition both from Parent and Child—Estimate of Aboriginal Capability; quick at elementary Education—This no Proof of Change or Adaptation for civilized Life—Some Features of the Progress of Civilisation—Illustration of unchangeable Aboriginal Character—Concluding Reflections.

The three preceding chapters relating to the Australian aborigines have been occupied chiefly with a description of the outward aspect and natural condition of the race

—of those customs and modes of life which have been observed to prevail among this remote and barbarous branch of the human family. We have now to view them in a different relationship, as associated with our colonizing countrymen, whose enterprising spirit has scattered them over the globe, and who have already penetrated far into the recesses of the Australian wilderness. The history of British occupation forms in this as in other instances a darkly shaded picture. It is the usual rapacity of power over weakness, and the unfailing result of the presence of civilized man among rude and simple barbarians. To the crowded numbers and colonizing spirit of European population, the lands of these savage races are irresistible objects of attraction; the more so that the soil is in general neither subjected to tillage nor claimed by its aboriginal occupants as individual property. We can only urge, by way of justification for our unceremonious intrusion, that a vast territory like Australia, hitherto appropriated to a handful of the rudest savages, is now being rapidly transformed into a scene of prosperous industry, the future seat of millions of our fellow-countrymen, and the dawn of a great and interesting empire.

The history of the neighbouring colony of Van Diemen's Land, with reference to its aboriginal population, ominously forebodes the future in Australia. In the former the aborigines are extinct, with the exception of a small remnant which still lingers out a listless existence on one of the islands of Bass's Straits; in Australia they are yearly diminishing, and with rapid haste in all

those districts that have been occupied by the colonists. In the early history of Van Diemen's Land, an incessant mutual hostility appears to have characterized the casual intercourse of the natives and the colonists, the former of whom, in their rugged and inaccessible retreats amongst the western mountains, were long enabled to survive the superior arts of their enemies. In the year 1830, Colonel Arthur, then lieutenant-governor of the colony, ordered a great levy of the colonists, with the view of driving the aborigines into the south-eastern corner of the island, and taking them prisoners. He had previously prohibited them strictly from intruding on the settled parts of the colony, excepting at the season of the annual visit to the seacoast for shell-fish. On the present occasion most of them, as might have been anticipated in a wooded and mountainous country, contrived to escape their pursuers; but Mr Robinson, now Chief Protector of the Aborigines of Australia Felix, was afterwards employed with greater success in bringing peaceably together the surviving remnant, who were finally transferred in 1835 to Flinders' Island. They numbered 210 on their first arrival, but in 1842, when Count Strzelecki visited the island, they were reduced to fifty-four, and only fourteen children had been born during a period of eight years. They still turn their eyes towards the south with a fond recollection of their native land, gazing upon her noble scenery, as the lofty mountains, though diminished by distance, are still seen to emerge with a clear outline upon the remote horizon.

The history of New South Wales, in regard to her aboriginal population, must shortly form a counterpart to that of Van Diemen's Land. The greater extent of the former territory will protract the final issue. The fresh tribes of the successively colonized districts will yet perhaps long continue to wander among the new occupants of their soil. But even now in particular districts the lapse of thirty or fifty years has already extinguished the race of the ancient owners; while in other localities the wasted and isolated tribes wander about in solitary fractions, in filth and wretchedness, without energy, without motive; or associate promiscuously with other tribes, in profane disregard for ancestral distinctions, and family antipathies and strife, at once more peaceable, more indolent, and more degraded than before, and uniformly hastening to the final scene.

The first occupation of new districts in the progressive march of Australian colonization, is frequently the occasion of hostile rencounters with the tribes of these respective localities which are thus invaded. The aborigines in general are by no means favourable to these permanent inroads of the colonists, although in some instances they may assume an indifference, or seem even desirous of their presence for the sake of casual supplies of food. They have repeatedly attacked the sheep and cattle of the settlers, spearing the bodies of the latter, and driving off the former in flocks, occasionally breaking their legs to prevent their return to their accustomed pasturage. These transactions have been of frequent occurrence in the western and north-western parts of Aus-

tralia Felix, where the natives were at first both fierce and numerous. To the west and south-west of Mount Rouse are extensive tracts of the extraordinary formations called the "stony rises."* Spread almost continuously over hundreds of square miles, and altogether impervious to horsemen, these wild and rugged districts served as a secure retreat for the numerous aborigines who occupied that part of the country on the first approach of the depasturing colonists. The natives were quickly driven from the fine pasturage that lay around these rises, and in return they attacked and carried off the sheep and cattle of the invading settlers, retreating to their rocky hiding-places, where they were occasionally descried by those in pursuit, luxuriating in all the waste of savage appetite, and flourishing the limbs of their mangled and half-roasted prey. The provocation of such revolting scenes, the privacy and solitude, the absence of witnesses, were circumstances not to be resisted by the settlers, and they took every opportunity, by the summary process of the rifle, to avenge their losses and rid themselves of their enemies.

I had occasion myself to visit these parts of the country three years ago (in June 1844). The settlers had then been in occupation for about two years, and the blacks were still troublesome in stealing the live stock. On the banks of the Eumaralla Lake or Swamp, where the stony rises of that locality commence, there was a "native township," as it was termed, where the aborigines generally encamped during a portion of

* See Chapter III. for some account of these *rises* or hillocks.

the year for the purpose of fishing. The annual muster at the township was stated to have been at first about five hundred individuals of the tribe; but they were now reduced to two hundred; and there could be no reasonable doubt that during the intervening two years, at least two hundred of these blacks had been shot or otherwise deprived of life in various rencounters with the white settlers. The blacks, though generally keeping aloof, occasionally mustered in numbers and attacked the shepherds, who in one or two instances lost their lives. One of the settlers of that neighbourhood, a man of a strong and muscular frame, had been attacked in his hut on one occasion by a large party of blacks, and after a desperate defence, had been left to all appearance dead, nearly a dozen spears having been thrust into his body. He subsequently recovered, however, and reappearing among his terrified and astonished foes, had received from them the appellation of the devil, or as nearly to the effect of that personage as the aboriginal language and ideas would permit; and the devil, as might have been expected, was understood to have very amply revenged himself. The Chief Protector of Aborigines, in a letter to Mr La Trobe the superintendent of the Port Phillip District, dated December 1841, details the slaughter of the black population by the whites, and mentions a colonist of the name of Taylor who seems to have swept off the natives by whole tribes.

The natives still continue in considerable bodies to inhabit either bank of the Murray, where they are

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plentifully supplied with fish; but the encroachments of the colonists, who are gradually occupying the whole extent of that noble stream, will soon occasion their disappearance. In the mean time the outer settlements for the time being are the scenes of occasional conflict, and it is sometimes necessary to supply the shepherds with firearms, and give them the use of a horse. A melancholy case occurred towards the end of last year in the neighbourhood of Captain Coghill's station on the Murray, where the natives murdered a colonist of the name of Beveridge, a youth of excellent character, but probably the innocent object of revenge for some previous damage sustained by the assailants at the hands of his countrymen. The murderers were captured a few weeks after the transaction, and as the account is rather interesting, I now give it to the reader.

Three natives had been concerned in this murder, and the deceased, who had survived for a short period after their retreat, was enabled before his death to describe to his friend and neighbour Mr Byerley the persons of his murderers. In the beginning of November, a month or six weeks after the occurrence, a sergeant of police with two of his men happened to arrive in the neighbourhood, and the opportunity was taken of endeavouring to secure the criminals. A body of blacks was at this time encamped on the opposite bank of the Murray, and the objects of their search, whom Mr Byerley was prepared to identify, were not unlikely to be found amongst them. The police having arrived, the party began with due caution the difficult

preliminary of inducing the blacks to venture across the river. This was at length accomplished by holding out the temptation of a gift of food and tomahawks, and according to expectation the three criminal parties proved to be of the number. About twenty-five natives had thus been induced to cross over, and they were all eventually lodged in a hut or dwelling upon the station, and seated around a fire where a huge pot of boiling wheat and water had been designedly placed to monopolize their attention. The blacks were by no means unsuspicious, and had thrown out sundry cautionary inquiries relative to the late appearance of the police in their vicinity. The police were of course kept in concealment, but the wary natives were still troubled by the presence of several assisting settlers, and demanded what the stranger white fellows with their horses were doing among them. To these and similar queries it was replied that the police were now "plenty far away," and that the "white fellows" were in quest of a new station, and would give unmeasured quantities of beef, damper,* and tomahawks to every black who would assist them in finding a suitable tract of country. Their suspicions were thus allayed, and Byerley indicated the persons of the culprits by the understood signal of his dropping a piece of bark behind each of them. Cords with running nooses were then prepared, and on a favourable opportunity were simultaneously thrown around the necks of each of the three blacks. After a hard but momentary struggle they were safely se-

* A large bannock or cake of coarse flour and water baked in the ashes, and used for bread at all the pastoral stations.

cured, their comrades rushing from the hut with the greatest terror and precipitation.

This was the first stage of proceedings. But the natives, who happened at the time to be very numerous in that particular place, had determined on a rescue. This circumstance was fortunately communicated in the course of the day by one of the blacks who had been acquainted with the occupants of the station, and now came to inform them that great numbers were mustering from the surrounding country, and that the hut would be attacked before "piccinini sun."* The police therefore remained on the spot, and the culprits were properly secured. Every possible preparation was made, by strengthening the doors and windows, and getting in readiness a number of ball-cartridges; and one from their scanty numbers was forthwith despatched to the nearest station where assistance could be had, a distance of no less than seventy-five miles. By rare good fortune in so remote a location, several settlers arrived at the hut during the day, and were promptly enlisted in the cause.

All was quiet during night; but as the gray dawn of morning overtook the watchful inmates of the hut, they soon learned the correctness of the information so timely afforded them by the friendly black. A party of natives were perceived approaching with a noiseless but firm step, all arrayed for battle, with their bodies painted red, and their heads surmounted by emu feathers. The deathlike stillness, and the singular appearance of

* About daylight in the morning.

the advancing foe dimly shadowed forth in the glimmering twilight, may be conjectured to have formed a scene capable of inspiring terror. Vexation and disappointment were evidently expressed in the countenances of the assailants when they perceived that the enemy was prepared. The attack, however, was commenced. The vanguard, consisting of about fifty, was soon followed by the main army, which advanced to close quarters, and the battle became mutual. But the showers of spears, though launched against the hut with wonderful force, did no damage to its inmates, who on their part responded with better effect from their firearms, shooting as opportunities permitted through loopholes and crevices of the building. Great excitement prevailed at one period on the occasion of one of the leaders being shot, the natives rushing with savage yells upon the roof, and attempting to tear off the bark and rafters, and even to descend by the chimney. As the morning advanced, they retired from the hut, encamping about 150 yards in front, and making no further attempts during the remainder of that day and the succeeding night. Towards daybreak of the following morning they were again preparing for war; but at this conjuncture the opportune appearance of nine horsemen, who had been collected by the industrious emissary of the previous day, induced the natives to abandon their designs and effect a speedy retreat, leaving their three companions in the hands of their captors.*

A feeling of mutual distrust between the settlers and

* Port Phillip Patriot of 23d November 1846.

the natives is frequently originated by occasional deeds committed on either side, where, as regards the injured party, the causes have been unknown or misinterpreted. Notwithstanding the proverbially irrational impulses of these natives, it appears not improbable that in all their grosser instances of violence towards the whites, they have been actuated by some principle of a retributory character, although the cause may not be suspected, or may even never have been known by those who, in the indiscriminate revenge of these simple races, have chanced to be the sufferers. An illustrative instance occurred several years ago in Gipps' Land, where Mr M'Allister, a settler of that district, was barbarously and to all appearance unaccountably murdered by the natives. The inquiries of Mr Robinson, the Protector of Aborigines, who happened to be in that country shortly after this occurrence, enabled him to ascertain its true cause. Some of the colonists had previously, while in a state of intoxication, fired at and killed several of the natives; and Mr M'Allister happening to be the first white man who was encountered by the excited blacks after the perpetration of this gross tragedy, he became the victim of their revenge.

The greatest atrocities of the blacks are in general far less heinous than the deliberate cruelty of the whites. It is a fortunate circumstance for the safety of the black that the impartiality of the law equally protects and avenges either race. His life is often a matter of small account in the estimation of the colonist, who finds the aboriginal owners of each new pastoral location to be alike useless

and troublesome in his vicinity. A case of this sort, attended with the most ferocious and disgraceful circumstances, occurred between five and six years ago in the western district of Australia Felix, at a pastoral station on Muston's Creek, a branch of the Hopkins near Port Fairy. A party of women and children, who appeared to have been quietly encamped together, were deliberately fired upon by several settlers armed with guns and pistols. Three women and one child were killed and one woman wounded in this unmanly and diabolical transaction, and so close were the assailants to their unhappy victims, that the fire from one of the pieces had actually scorched the body of one of the murdered aborigines.*

Association with the colonists appears to have a rapid effect in subduing aboriginal ferocity and distrust, and the natives of the earlier colonized districts usually exhibit a degree of awe and submission that quickly banishes from the colonist all sensation of dread. Though disliking fixed habits or occupations, they are often extremely docile, and when thoroughly accustomed to Europeans, are frank, confiding, and fearless in their manner and disposition. These symptoms, sometimes mistaken for a permanent change of disposition, are ever apt to disappear when opportunity offers. They seem to result from the narrowness and simplicity of the mind and ideas. The native falls back into his old

* This occurrence took place on the evening of the 23d February 1842. Three parties understood to have been concerned were brought to trial, but the evidence proved incomplete.

practices, apparently without one regret for the civilisation he was once introduced to. His usual habits have been in abeyance under a change of circumstances, but his mind would appear to have remained radically the same.

The only instance I have met with having the appearance of a decided change of disposition among the aborigines, is one mentioned by the Rev. William Hamilton of Goulburn. It is the case of a black woman who was brought up by the Rev. Mr Cartwright. She was married by that clergyman to a colonist of the Sydney district, with whom she lived happily for two or three years; but a separation afterwards took place through her jealousy of another female who was a colonist. It is remarkable of this native that she would not associate with other aborigines. She bore an excellent character, and possessed a degree of intelligence and amount of religious knowledge far beyond those of a large proportion of white females.*

The natives are frequently employed on the pastoral stations, and even on farms in various temporary labour or occupations of a roving out-door character, not altogether dissimilar to their own mode of life. In a few instances they act as shepherds. In South Australia and the Sydney district they have been employed in reaping grain and picking maize, for which they receive a rate of wages, paid sometimes in money, but chiefly

* Rev. W. Hamilton, 18. He takes however a rather more favourable view than others of the whole case of the aborigines.

in necessaries. Mr Boyd of Sydney, with unusual success, has succeeded in training the aborigines of Twofold Bay, whom he employs in his whale-fishing establishments there, and as sailors on board his yacht during short excursions from Sydney. The natives of the Twofold Bay district were also on previous occasions employed in the whale fishery by the Messrs Imlay of that place, who gave them wages on the same terms as to their white servants. They lived in huts, cooked their food, and used utensils like others; but after the fishing season was past, they abandoned all and returned to their tribes.* It is a common practice to have an aboriginal boy at the pastoral stations for assisting in tracking stray cattle and in other active occupations. The natives have been of great use to travellers from their knowledge of the country, their quick perceptions, and the facility with which they find water and the means of sustenance. In their new relations with the colonists, no useful department of civilized life appears to suit their disposition so well as that of the "native police," a force which has been successfully organized at Port Phillip. They make no scruple of seizing their fellow-natives, and are active and wonderfully intelligent in tracing out aboriginal offenders; but it is not always easy to repress their summary system of justice, and a chance for chastizing a strange or hostile tribe is not to be resisted. In this manner a party of these blacks, who attended a late surveying expedition into the country towards Cape Otway, had attacked and exterminated

* Phillip's Land by Dr Lang, p. 127.

the remnant of a tribe that was met with on the journey.

In general the aborigines can be but rarely kept steadily to any work, and any sensation of fatigue promptly terminates their exertions. But some of the colonists are much more successful than others in keeping them employed, and maintaining an authority over them. In this respect a remarkable case occurred at Port Phillip several years ago, which is also illustrative of the difficulty of effecting any radical change in the aboriginal mind. Two Van Diemen's Land natives, called Bob and Jack, had for a period of thirteen years faithfully served Mr Robinson, Chief Protector of Aborigines; and accompanied him both when he had charge of the natives in their own country, and when he was subsequently transferred to Port Phillip. They understood the English language, and appeared to be so thoroughly initiated into civilized life, that when their services after a time were no longer required by the Protector, they were permitted to seek employment for themselves in the settlement. These two natives accordingly departed, accompanied by their wives and by an aboriginal female called Truganini, who was the wife of another of Mr Robinson's black servants, but who preferred to accompany the wanderings of her friends. They had entered into service in different places; but, notwithstanding their quietness and attachment when under their former master, they soon became restless in their new sphere. These extraordinary creatures, leaving their places of employment,

formed a coalition, and proceeded towards Western Port, where they robbed a station and deliberately committed an outrageous murder. For this offence Bob and Jack were tried and executed at Melbourne in December 1841. They appear to have been actuated by some vague sentiment of revenge, which was the only motive they alleged for the deed.

The relationship of the aborigines with regard to the administration of the laws has always been a subject of difficulty. The law assumes as a fundamental basis, that a certain sufficient degree of intelligence regarding its particular enactments, and regarding right and wrong in general, is attainable by all, who are therefore alike responsible to stated penalties for any infringement of its rules. The Australian natives have been declared British subjects and amenable to British law. This is an honour and responsibility which has been conferred upon them without either their knowledge or concurrence, and it does not appear that they have ever been able to comprehend its meaning. They have laws or customs of their own with regard to transactions among themselves; but here also, as well as with reference to offences against the colonists, they are liable to British law. Their ignorance of the English language prevents their ascertaining the nature of their responsibilities, even if they were otherwise so disposed. But while the law embraces them in one respect, it casts them off in another, as they are legally disqualified from giving evidence in a court of justice. On the whole, their case is peculiar, and requires a special legislation.

Most of those who are brought to trial cannot be made either to plead to the indictment, or to understand the nature of the proceedings about to be taken against them. In this anomalous state of affairs, the law remains in abeyance, and they cannot be punished at all. Koort-kirrup, a well known native of the Port Phillip District, who had murdered one European and attempted the life of another, was brought to trial at Melbourne in the beginning of 1845, and retained in prison for thirteen months owing to this inapplicable state of legislation, and in the hope that, by the assistance of interpreters, the current statutes might be made to bear in effecting his punishment. But these endeavours proved unavailing, and in March 1846 he was again set at liberty. The trial of the murderers of Mr Beveridge came on in December of the same year, and it appears not unlikely that this case will be attended with a similar result. "It is no fault of mine," remarked the judge on this occasion; "the law prescribes that they are to be tried as British subjects. It is my duty to administer the law such as it may be, so long as the legislature thinks proper not to interfere."

In the year 1839 an act was passed by the Legislative Council of New South Wales, by which the evidence of the aborigines might be taken under affirmation or declaration, and be received as of such weight as corroborative circumstances might justify, the witness to be liable to the usual pains and penalties as in the case of perjury. But this act, which was not to take effect until it received the royal assent, was disallowed by Lord John

Russell's despatch of the following year.* Subsequently, however, in 1843 the wise and liberal course was adopted of empowering the legislatures of colonies to make particular laws to suit the case of the aborigines of each settlement.† Accordingly, in the colony of South Australia, the Legislative Council have since passed an act for the purpose of legalizing aboriginal evidence. But this boon, which reason and justice seemed to demand, is somewhat guarded by a provision "that no person, whether an aboriginal or other, shall be convicted of any offence by any justice or jury upon the sole testimony of any such uncivilized persons."‡ Now, complains Mr Eyre, should the European, in attempting to maltreat the native, receive the worst in the affray, his oath and testimony, it would appear, would prevail, and has already done so, notwithstanding all exculpatory evidence of the blacks.§ Possibly an act similar to that alluded to above as proposed by the New South Wales legislature might be found to work well. It would doubtless administer justice to the greatest number of cases. But in the variety and uncertainty of men's impressions and prejudices, there appears some risk in leaving aboriginal evidence to the discretion of a judge and jury as a sole ground for ascertaining and punishing crime.‖

* 10th July 1840. The Col. act was 3 Vict., No. 16, 8th October 1839.

† By act of Parliament 6 & 7 Vict. c. 22, 31st May 1843.

‡ Act 7 & 8 Vict. § Eyre, vol. ii. p. 493.

‖ By the Col. act 2 Vict., No. 18, sec. 49, 26th September 1838, a fine of £5 is imposed on any one, whether licensed or

The impracticable character of the Australian native has not excluded even this degraded race from the incessant efforts of religious and philanthropic minds. But the efforts of missionaries and the countenance and support of the government appear to have been alike unavailing. The objects of such persevering care seem to have derived no benefit whatever. Nevertheless public and private exertions have not ceased. The various religious missions to the aborigines, having been found of no effect, the home government conceived the plan of establishing an aborigines protectorate, for the preservation, religious instruction, and general welfare of the natives of the more recently colonized territories of Australia; and this was accordingly done in 1838 in the case of Australia Felix and the colonies of South and West Australia. But the lapse of a very few years served to show that this new attempt was equally unsuccessful with those that preceded it. Nearly £40,000 have now been expended on the Port Phillip protectorate, and the establishment, though on a reduced scale, is still upheld, and other assistance furnished from the public funds of the colony for behoof of the aborigines. The sentiments and example of the government in the case of these aborigines are worthy of praise. "I should not," writes the minister of the crown, "without the most extreme reluctance, admit that nothing can be

otherwise, who shall sell or *give* spirituous liquors to any aboriginal natives. By 4 Vict., No. 8, 11th August 1840, aborigines are prohibited from being in possession of firearms and ammunition. The New Zealanders are specially excluded from the operation of this act.

done; that with respect to them alone the doctrines of Christianity must be inoperative, and the advantages of civilisation incommunicable. I cannot acquiesce in the theory that they are incapable of improvement, and that their extinction before the white settlers is a necessity which it is impossible to control."*

All the aboriginal missions, with one or two solitary exceptions, appear now to be abandoned in New South Wales. Independently of contributions raised in Britain and the colony, they have drawn about £20,000 from the colonial revenues, besides a further sum of £10,000 expended in purchasing blankets and other articles for the use of the blacks.† There is still a Roman Catholic mission at Stadbroke Island in Moreton Bay, where four missionaries are employed. This island, which is a mere band of sand about 20 miles in

* Lord Stanley to Sir George Gipps, 20th December 1842.

† The following are particulars of these expenses up to 30th June 1845:

Aboriginal Native Institution	1821 to 1833,	£3,364	9	11
Inquiry under Lieut. R. Sadlier	1826 & 1827,	388	4	4
Mission at Lake Macquarie	1827 to 1841,	2,145	5	10
Do. Wellington Valley	1832 to 1843,	5,964	10	2
German do. at Moreton Bay	1838 to 1842,	1,516	14	2
Wesleyan do. at Port Phillip	1836 to 1842,	4,538	8	9
Total expense of Missions,.....		£17,917	13	2
Protectorate at Port Phillip established 1838,		32,756	15	7
Cost of Blankets, &c., not included in any of the above,.....		9,746	14	7
		£60,421	3	4
Expenses from 30th June to 31st Dec. 1845,.....		1,170	1	9
		£61,591	5	1

length, was selected for its present purpose in the hope that the barrenness of the spot might prevent its being settled on by the colonists. The Wesleyan mission at Buntingdale, Port Phillip, is another which continues in existence, but on a reduced and modified plan. Mr Tuckfield, the present missionary at that establishment, perceiving that the mutual antipathies of the various tribes were a constant obstacle to their progress in civilisation and religious instruction, bethought himself to try a new and very simple method of experimenting upon a single tribe, which he would maintain distinct and isolated not only from the colonists, but from all the other aborigines. This plan was commenced towards the end of 1842, and after a trial of six months, appeared to have been attended with comparatively great success. A cheering account was transmitted by the missionary, and the subject of the conversion of the Australian natives seemed to have suddenly assumed a new and more hopeful light. There were then fifty-two persons at Buntingdale, all of whom were of one tribe, except a few who belonged to others, and were connected by ties of marriage or consanguinity. The mission had fifty acres of land in crop, and the natives were engaged in constructing slab huts for their own use, and in learning various useful occupations. The usual obstacles, however, appear to have here also gradually developed themselves; and according to the latest testimonies, the Buntingdale scheme may be classed with the others in the common list of failures. Mr Tuckfield himself, notwithstanding his former ex-

pectations, seems now to have abandoned all hope of converting the aborigines.* The isolation of the natives, even if desirable, does not appear practicable consistently with allowing them some scope of freedom and locomotion for the enjoyment of existence and the exercise of their usual modes of life.

The conversion or efficient instruction of the older blacks is generally admitted to be altogether impracticable. They are strongly opposed to any change of habits and customs, remarks the Rev. Mr Gunther of Mudgee, and seem knit together as in a conspiracy to keep out improvement. The children on reaching adult age are constituted by some mysterious ceremony, and become "as if enlisted and sworn."† The rearing of the young children has therefore of late been the chief object of attention, and several schools for aboriginal children have been established.

The missionary philanthropy with regard to the younger natives has however been opposed by the seniors of the tribes. The parents are not generally willing that their children should be taken away from them, more particularly as it has been found necessary to keep the pupils as much as possible entirely aloof from their old associates. When the children under instruction are allowed to return at night to their parents' encampment, all the good lessons of the day

* Dr Lang's Phillip's Land, p. 125, &c.

† "They have mental peculiarities and defects which no education or training can entirely alter or supply. Like Ishmael, they are wild men by nature." Rev. James Allen Braidwood.

are usually swept away and laughed out of them; so that it is now the practice to board and lodge them at the school. Teaching in the native language is also, for similar reasons, found not to answer, and the children are now taught in English. But notwithstanding all care and precaution, they are always apt to run off whenever their tribes move away from the neighbourhood. There is often indeed great difficulty in inducing the boys to attend school at all, and the teachers must sometimes go round the encampments and take them away even against their wishes. Although the natives may tacitly submit at the time, they are nevertheless much displeased at this interference with their families. One old man, whose children had been thus taken away, but had run back to him again on his removing from the vicinity of the school, used vehemently to declare, that if they were taken any more, he would appropriate some white children in their place, and teach them in his turn. He could give them, he added, useful instruction in hunting, fishing, and making nets, but the Europeans did no good to his children.*

It would be difficult to discover any defective capacity of mind in the aboriginal native, if we judged him by his indications at school. Their aptness and quick perceptions are remarkable, and often positively superior to those of European children. Letters and figures are easily acquired; and although the bare and abstract

* Eyre, vol. ii. p. 436-438.

character of arithmetical operations puzzles them somewhat at first, yet these also are eventually mastered, and the early progress of the pupil is generally promising. The native children have thus been repeatedly considered, and by good authorities, to be as apt and intelligent as those of Europeans. Nevertheless it is extraordinary that in no instance have these beginnings of civilisation ripened, or been permanently sustained in adult age. All educated or trained aborigines, youths as well as adults, as far as testimony can be relied on, appear to have uniformly degenerated, abandoning at some period their civilized habits and associations, and returning to the life of their fathers.*

The aptitude for civilisation seems therefore to be distinct from a mere readiness for acquiring the ordinary elements of education. Pliability of the mind, and a ready adaptation of habits to suit and take advantage of varying circumstances of outward condition, conspicuously distinguish the civilized from the savage man. A

* Eyre, vol. ii. p. 420. There are now numerous instances on record. One remarkable case was mentioned to me by Mr Alexander M'Kean, late of South Australia, of two female children who had been brought up for some time with great care at Government House at Adelaide, but who nevertheless eventually disappeared on the occasion of a tribe of blacks being in the neighbourhood, whom they had seen from the windows of the house. They had previously been observed to be rather restless and frequently looking out upon the country. In explanation of their dislike of European customs, some consideration is due for the disadvantageous circumstances in which they are placed among the whites. What prospects or course of life, inquires Mr Eyre, are open to a native who may be educated and civilized? What domestic ties can he form to make his life happy

crowded and varied scene of society, brought about by the fertility of the soil or by accidents of migration and intercourse, may have induced these qualities, and have thus sown the germ of future order and enlightenment. One step follows another in the gradation of general attainments. At an advanced height in the ascending scale new features have come into action, occasioned by political and commercial tendencies in the development of dark unwieldy masses of population around the seats of authority, which have gradually arrested the onward order, and have always until modern times finally subverted freedom and the stimulus to industry and genius. But these indications occur at a stage which is far beyond the elevation of the savage races. With them no rise and fall of empires variegates their monotonous annals. The Australian, however, has been suited to the circumstances in which he happens to be placed. His country is limited in variety of adaptations; in geographical position he is removed from the great stream of human intercourse that flows among the more advanced population of the islands and countries to the northward; the scope of his mind is proportionately narrowed; and the according faculties, stamped throughout successive generations, cannot be immediately changed by his introduction to a new scene.

A preference of the better to the worse in the conditions of life, as a steady and continuous principle of action, appears to be intimately connected with the basis of civilisation. Two are preferable to one, a greater is before a lesser value; and as we proceed in the natural

ascent; a house becomes superior to a hovel, clothing to nakedness, and the elegancies of life to rusticity and poverty. It is one stage of civilisation that these superiorities should be simply preferred; it is another and still higher that they should not only be preferred, but should stimulate exertion in order to their attainment. We are familiar with the two first stages. The Chinese and the British will respectively occupy these seats. The latter march forward with a continuous pace; the former are stationary when left to their own resources, but have capacity for the helm when borne along by an extraneous current. But in savage life we have a new feature—a resolute halt in the ascending scale,—the elaboration of a stunted perfection which emits a semi-lustre of its own. The will or desire to advance is no less necessary than the capacity. The Australian native refuses to proceed. In a few accidental items of the general list which contributes to civilized happiness, he agrees perhaps with refined tastes and civilized habits; in the great bulk he sees no attraction. The modes of life, the hopes, the motives, and rewards that stimulate daily labour, are to him an altogether inadequate compensation.

The inflexible nature of a mind which has been moulded in barbarism throughout successive ages and generations is well illustrated by the American novelist in his portraiture of Mohegan, or Old Indian John, in the story of the Pioneers. The aged chief had never adapted his habits and sentiments to the new associations that surrounded him. Any attempt in this respect rendered

him only debased or ridiculous. He existed as an isolated remnant of the past, and the simple and foreign character of his ideas ever flowed forth in his measured and sententious speech. In the affecting scene at the close of his career the original unaltered mind shines forth with renewed vigour. The superficial cloak which the restraints of society and the unwonted relations of his later life had thrown around him was then utterly and contemptuously cast aside. The last representative of the Delawares sings the hymns of his tribe, as his eye, dim and glassy to earthly impressions, sees with increasing brightness the far off land and the happy hunting-grounds where his own people have assembled after death, undisturbed for the future by the presence of a white. "Sings he the praises of his Redeemer?" inquired the devout clergyman who was present, of the old Indian's companion. But Mohegan, wrapped up within himself, was busy with his own praises. "The great Spirit waits," said the dying Indian, speaking in his native tongue, "and I obey his call. I have honoured my father, I have cherished my mother, I have slain the Maquas. Mohegan is just. What enemy that trusted in him did not see the morning! What Mingo that he chased ever sung the song of triumph!"

The fate of Mohegan and his tribe is that of the Australian natives. The one has already been accomplished; the other is in rapid progress. This must certainly prove the result wherever the colonists in considerable numbers occupy the country. By the

irresistible prevalence of European institutions, by the grasping wants of European commerce, the aboriginal customs and modes of life are gradually checked and finally subverted; and the wretched outcasts of the soil linger out a listless and apathetic existence, without object or motive or enjoyment, a prey to filth, intemperance, and miserable disease. The law of their disappearance, if we may so speak, is doubtless a wise and merciful ordination. It cannot be desirable to prolong a race which has always sunk into circumstances of unhappiness and degradation.

Let the great fact of their final destiny stimulate our compassion and forbearance for the interesting remnant of these races, now so rapidly disappearing from the earth under the spread of civilisation, and the evident development of a new and unprecedented era in the history of mankind. In their own limited sphere they have enjoyed happiness until disturbed by our resistless progress. To these aborigines no calamity of their own mutual wars, or outrageous cruelty of customs and superstitions, can in any degree be compared with that of the advent and admixture of European population. It is now our duty to save and assist the wrecks which our colonizing enterprise has created. It is honourable to relate of our country that this sacred office is not neglected. In all instances where, from the occupation of their lands, the aborigines are unable to follow their natural mode of life, they should be made the objects of benevolence, and suitably provided for. The various Australian tribes have each their particular

tracts of country, and the mutual antipathies of these different sections of the population leave open no place of retreat for those natives whose lands have been occupied by the colonists. These outcast tribes are the proper objects of missionary zeal and philanthropy, if not for conversion to Christianity, at least for a shelter and protection, and a supply of the necessaries of life. In other respects there is perhaps a disposition to do too much rather than too little, and to interfere with the aborigines when they are much better left alone. Their case may be a riddle to the religious and philosophical theorist, but it is a fact to the observer of nature. In the general spirit of his view, I am disposed to agree with a distinguished individual whose authority is often quoted in this work. Amidst the wrecks of schemes, says the traveller, there remains yet one to be adopted for the benefit of the aborigines,—to listen and attend to the last wishes of the departed, and to the voice of the remaining few: "Leave us to our habits and customs; do not imbitter the days which are in store for us by constraining us to obey yours, nor reproach us with apathy to that civilisation which is not destined for us."*

* Strzelecki, p. 355.

CHAPTER IX.

ZOOLOGY AND BOTANY OF AUSTRALIA.

Small Proportion of noxious Animals throughout so large a Country—The Chase; the Kangaroo; the Emu; the Native Dog—Beauty of the Birds, but wanting in melodious Notes—Extraordinary Types and distinct Characters of Australian Animals; the Marsupial System, Australia its great Head-quarters—First Description of the Kangaroo—The Marsupials furnish a connecting Link with lower Classes of Animals; celebrated instance of the Ornithorynchus—Australian Vegetation—Kangaroo and other Grass; Pig's Face; Heaths; the Grass Tree, &c.—The Family of the Gum Trees; the Red Gum—The Mimosa, Native Cherry-tree, &c.—The present distinctive Features pertained also to the ancient World—The Fossil Flora—Huge Pachydermatous Marsupials—Gigantic Birds of the Emu Character—Traditions and Testimony of the Aboriginal Natives not to be relied on—Geological Features—Indications of former Commotions and extensive Volcanic Agency.

No country of similar extent to Australia, and situated in temperate or warm latitudes, presents amongst its various animals so small a proportion of the noxious kind. If we except, along with the human population, the alligator* of the north, and perhaps the larger

* According to Dr Leichhardt, this is a true crocodile. He met

snakes of the interior, neither of which intrude very frequently on his notice, the traveller may roam over the entire extent of Australia without risk of any offensive attack. But the defensive powers are frequently energetic. The snake, where his retreat is intercepted, rears up boldly to the foe; and even the timid and gentle kangaroo, when seized in the chase by the hounds, turns upon his assailants, and tears them in pieces by the strength of his powerful muscles.

In Australia, the amusement of the chase possesses unusual attractions. The chief object is the kangaroo,* which exists in vast numbers throughout Australia. In Australia Felix this animal is particularly abundant between Port Phillip and Port Western, and to the westward in the neighbourhood of Port Fairy, it is occasionally seen in troops of twenty or thirty at a time jumping one after another through the woods, or grouped together with singular effect upon some patch of clear and grassy surface. The spirit and eagerness of the dogs, and the loud "whoop" of the huntsman, as he discerns his prey coursing with rapid and fantastic gait through the open forest, excite incredible ardour and enthusiasm. Nothing can be more inspiring in this description of pastime, so long as the bounding tenant of the woods maintains himself ahead of his pursuers. But the successes of the sport are attended with a touching

with it occasionally after reaching the Gulf of Carpentaria on his route to Port Essington.

* The species commonly called the Old Man, Macropus major.

spectacle, in the innocent and piteous expression of the suffering victim.

The emu is also occasionally but less frequently hunted. This remarkable bird, resembling the ostrich and the cassowary, existed in great numbers throughout Australia Felix ten or twelve years ago, at the foundation of the settlement, and abounded on the present sites of Melbourne and Geelong. It is now gradually becoming scarcer; and as the grassy lands which it inhabits are also the spots most sought after by the colonists, it will doubtless erelong entirely disappear from the district.* The huge and wingless bird is pursued over the plains by the swiftest horses, whose strength often gives way ere the object of the chase becomes exhausted. With steady and rapid strides he maintains himself ahead, occasionally relaxing or accelerating his pace, according to the movements of his pursuers, and nobly holding his course until either pursuit has ceased, or he himself, utterly exhausted, falls lifeless to the ground.†

* A pair of emus from Port Phillip, which had been domesticated in the park at Circular Head, Van Diemen's Land, reared six young ones during the spring of 1845. The female made her nest early in October, and laid eight eggs. The period of incubation was exactly six weeks.

† This is usually the case in hot weather. If the emu is hard pressed by a swift and vigorous horse, he will run till he drops down dead. On one occasion, at Lake Colac, about a dozen settlers, well mounted, met with two emus on the plains, to which they all gave chase. The day was extremely oppressive, with a strong hot wind. The chase continued, I think, for ten or twelve miles at full speed. Several horses were killed, others seriously injured, and as the remnant approached their victims, both emus, as my informant stated, dropped down dead within a few yards of each other.

The destruction occasioned to the sheep by the native dog has added another but less commiserated object to the varieties of the chase. This animal appears to be spread over the greater part of Australia; but he is generally regarded as one of the varieties of the common dog, and not an original native of the country. He is supposed to have been introduced by the early discoverers of New Holland, and to have subsequently acquired the unvarying brownish yellow hue of his fur and other peculiarities by the operation of time and local circumstances.* This animal has been nearly rooted out of some parts of the settled country, but is still numerous in others, and the melancholy tone of his nightly howling may often be heard at great distances over the plains. Several hunting associations have been organized throughout the district for the extermination of this common enemy.

The brilliant hues of many of the birds, and particularly of the parrot family, impart a charm to the forest scenery. The king-parrot dazzles the eye with his glossy radiance, and contrasts his prismatic colouring with the snowy plumage of the crested cockatoo, flying in clouds of chattering and screaming thousands over the country. But the melodious warbling of the feathered tribes is wanting in Australia; and the notes of the lark and the nightingale are there represented by the singular strain of the magpie, the dissonant chorus

* It has been remarked that the horses and cattle of the South American plains acquire a specific uniformity of colour when they have run wild for a lengthened period.

of the laughing jackass, and the melancholy monotone of the bell-bird.

The extraordinary race of animals by which Australia is peopled has long been familiar to the scientific world. The marsupial* type exhibits the economy of nature under novel and very interesting arrangements. The young, produced a few days after conception, are transferred by the mother to a pouch attached to the abdomen, where the diminutive embryo firmly adheres to the teats until completely developed. The pouch continues to serve as a retreat for the young in their more advanced state, particularly in moments of danger; and two peculiar bones attached to the muscles of the abdomen prevent the otherwise inconvenient pressure upon the bowels of the mother.

Prior to the discovery of the Australian marsupials, examples of this conformation of animal had already been found in North and South America, where numerous species of the opossum are now known to naturalists, but all very nearly resembling one another. In several of the East India islands, and particularly in New Guinea, it is also met with, and in a greater variety of form. But Australia is the great head-quarters of the marsupial tribe, exhibiting, amidst about eighty living species, the most remarkable diversities of structure and aspect, from the kangaroo, with its perfectly formed pouch, to the mere rudimentary traces in the pig-like wombat and the paradoxical echidna and platypus.

* So called from *marsupium*, a purse or pouch.

The kangaroo was first correctly described by Cook, who succeeded in shooting a specimen during his visit to New South Wales in 1770. But Dampier appears to have first noticed this animal in his second voyage, in 1699, to the north-western coast of New Holland. He describes "a sort of raccoon," found on the islands of Shark's Bay, "different from that of the West Indies chiefly about the legs," and mentions their jumping motion and short fore-paws.* The traces of the kangaroo were seen by Tasman in Van Diemen's Land during his visit of discovery in 1642, but were mistaken for those of a tiger.

A curious feature with regard to these Australian animals is the fact of their exhibiting a divergence from the other classes of quadrupeds of the mammalian type with which their general characteristics associate them, and forming a link with lower orders of beings which had hitherto maintained very distinct qualities. The kangaroo and his congeners, remarkable for the comparative smallness of the head and of the volume of the brain, appear to be deficient in the usual sagacity of quadrupeds,† and are, by various indications, connected with the order of reptiles. The emu ranks among the

* Flinders, Introduction, p. 63.

† It has been instanced in illustration of its stupidity, that it turns to bite the stick and not the hand that strikes it. The tame kangaroo has repeatedly jumped into the fire, and what is still more singular has sat in the flames in a kind of stupid and helpless wonder. This animal is reported, however, to be very sagacious in decoying and deceiving the hounds, in order to save the aged males. It is very easily domesticated.

lowest orders of birds; his wings are scarcely more than rudiments, and of no use for the purpose of flying. But the specimen which has excited the greatest astonishment is the Ornithorynchus paradoxus, which, fitted by a series of contrivances to live equally well in both elements, unites in itself the habits and appearance of a bird, a quadruped, and a reptile.*

The plants of Australia† have a resemblance in many of their species to those of the somewhat similar climate of Southern Africa; but in general they are nearly as distinct as her animal forms from the vegetation of other countries. The kangaroo-grass‡ is the most conspicuous of the native graminæ that so widely cover the surface of Australia Felix. It is highly nutritious for pasture, and generally occupies the better soils; but it is observed to give way to other grasses and weeds, and even to disappear in some localities, which have been long and closely cropped by the live stock. A small fine

* This animal used to be very abundant in the Merri-Merri Creek, in the immediate vicinity of Melbourne; but the thick population of that locality has now made it scarce, and it is not easily to be had near town. It is found both in Eastern and Western Australia. It seems to be at length decided that its young are produced alive and not by eggs.

† With reference to the two great botanical divisions, according to Mr R. Brown's observations, the Dicotyledonous are to the Monocotyledonous as rather more than three to one. But collections made in particular localities do not accurately agree with this result. Around Port Jackson, and in the vicinity of King George's Sound, localities situated in the same parallel at opposite extremes of Australia, this is about the proportion; but at the south end of Van Diemen's Land, and in nearly all equinoxial Australia, the proportion is fully four to one.—Strzelecki, p. 225.

‡ Antisteum Australis.

grass,* of a less nutritious quality, is also extensively distributed; and during winter, or in the moist weather, overspreads the surface of the country with a brilliant green.

The pig's face† is an extremely common production of the Australian soil, growing like a thick and fleshy grass, with its three-sided leaf and star-shaped pink or purple flower, occupying usually a rocky or dry light soil. The kangaroo apple‡ comes from a bush or small tree bearing blue blossoms, which are succeeded by apples like those of the potato. They have a sweetish flavour, and when ripe may be boiled and eaten, but are not greatly prized. The light and sandy lands along the eastern shore of the Bay of Port Phillip are profusely covered with various species of heath, contrasting their beautiful flowers with the sterility of the surrounding soil. The tall grass-tree§ and the gracefully bending pine of the mountain-lands to the eastward are striking objects in the forest scenery.

The larger vegetation of Australia is distinguished by the extensive and frequently almost exclusive prevalence of the single genus Eucalyptus, or family of the gum-trees. The scientific term Eucalyptus has been derived from the Greek, in allusion to a lid or covering over the blossom, which falls off when the flower expands, exposing a four-celled capsule or seed-vessel.

* Panicum levinœde, or barley-grass.

† Mesembryanthemum equilaterale, deriving its generic name from the habit of expanding its flower about noon.

‡ Solanum laciniatum. § Xanthorrhœa Arborea.

The popular name has been given from the large quantity of astringent juice which most of the species contain. Several of these species yield a sweet exudation, a sort of manna, of a pure white colour, which drops from the leaves upon the ground during spring and summer, and is greedily picked up alike by the ants, the birds, and the aboriginal natives. Of these noble trees the kind most prevalent in Australia Felix is the red gum, so called from the blood-red colour of its wood. It is not found beyond Australia, and is wanting as a natural product even in Van Diemen's Land, notwithstanding its abundance on the northern side of Bass's Straits.* Its presence generally marks the better soils of the country; it is partial to water, and is frequently found in swamps and along the banks of rivers. It attains a height of from one hundred to one hundred and fifty feet in many parts of the interior, and possesses a stem of great proportionate solidity. The wood, which is now used in the colony for articles of household furniture, is close and heavy, and susceptible of a high polish. The E. robusta, or stringy-bark, is also of common occurrence, growing upon a light and poor soil.

The acacia, comprising various species of elegant trees, is a section of the Mimosa family, which has derived its name from its mimicry of animal sensibility by collapsing its leaves when they are touched. It is extensively diffused in certain parts of the country, and the

* On the other hand, the blue gum, E. globulus, is peculiar to Van Diemen's Land.

air of spring is perfumed with the fragrance of its blossom. The graceful form of the native cherry-tree shoots forth in sheltered situations, or rises up beneath the expanded branches of the gum-tree. It bears a resemblance to the cypress, but is of a lighter green. It is destitute of leaves, and its verdant appearance results from an elongation of the branches. The scientific name of its genus, Exocarpus, has been derived from the circumstance of the nut or seed being outside of the substance of the fruit. The berries are small, of a red colour, sweet and slightly acid when ripe, and eaten by the aborigines. The she-oak (Casuarina), and the honeysuckle tree (Banksia), are also plentifully distributed in particular localities. The latter abounds on the sandy soil to the north of Mount Eliza and south of Arthur Seat, on the eastern shore of Port Phillip Bay, where it attains to a comparatively gigantic size.

The same distinctness of character that pervades the modern natural productions of this country, insulated in their forms and structure from those of other portions of the world, appears also displayed among the geological remnants of ancient Australia. The fossil remains of the coal deposits of the river Hunter to the north of Sydney, seem to be entirely destitute of all the genera of plants that abound in and most remarkably distinguish the similar strata of Europe and America. They are destitute of every trace of Lepidodendrons, Sigillariæ, and other genera of these remote eras in the northern hemisphere; but there is a curious analogy and perhaps identity of species between some of the

Australian fossils of that time, and those which are found in the Burdwan coalfield of India.*

The animals of past ages appear never to have ranged higher than those of the present day. They seem to have been then as well as now of the marsupial character. When the ancient world in other parts of its surface was overrun by the colossal pachydermatous† quadrupeds, the megatherium and other varieties of the elephant family, Australia also possessed her pachydermata, but of the marsupial order; and her principal birds still indicate, in these remote eras, the low grade of the emu and the cassowary.

Some recent discoveries of teeth and other osseous remnants in various parts of New South Wales, have excited among men of science the highest interest in regard to the habits and appearance of certain of the animals formerly inhabiting Australia. In common with what has been observed in most or all other countries which have been the subject of geological investigation, the animal beings of past times in this region of the world appear to have greatly exceeded in dimensions those which now occupy the same locali-

* Strzelecki, p. 245. The Rev. Mr Wilton of Newcastle, New South Wales, partially contradicts this statement, and intimates (letter in Sydney Herald of 4th July 1846) that himself, Dr Leichhardt, and other naturalists, are in possession of specimens of coniferæ from the Hunter's River coal formation, and of specimens of fossil flora, stated in the work of Strzelecki to be without a trace in these deposits. The Count's collection, which was examined by Mr Morris, comprised, as that gentleman intimates, but a limited number of specimens.

† Thick-skinned, such as the elephant or rhinoceros.

ties. Australia formerly possessed her terrible Dinotherium,* basking his ponderous body on the sunny banks of her streams; and a kangaroo taller than an elephant once traversed with gigantic bounds her grassy glades and forests.

The marsupial character, which has with certainty been inferred, from the structure of the bones and teeth that have been hitherto discovered, to belong to pachydermatous animals of the mastodon or elephant family, is a feature of an extraordinary character, and presents another instance wherein Australia affords the connecting links between structures and habits of being which had been heretofore regarded as distinct and unassociated. Two genera of these animals have been ascertained, which must have rivalled in size the rhinoceros and hippopotamus of the northern hemisphere. The Diprotodon† combined the characters of the wombat, the Dinotherium, and the kangaroo; and the Notatherium,‡ quite distinct from the kangaroo, yet decidedly marsupial, approached most nearly to the wombat. Every discovery in Australia, connected with animal or vegetable nature, may be said to have presented some unusual and surprising feature; and considering how little is yet known of that vast territory, it is far from improbable that her unexplored strata abound in other equally extraordinary forms and adaptations; and that her "alluvial or newer tertiary

* Signifying "a terrible wild beast," an animal of the mastodon or elephant family.

† Double incisors.

‡ Wild beast of the south.

deposits are the graves of many creatures which have never been dreamt of in our philosophy."*

The bones of an enormous bird have also recently been discovered in Australia Felix. This creature belongs to the new genus Dinornis,† which includes also the celebrated Moa or gigantic bird of New Zealand, and bears some resemblance to the present Apterix or wingless bird of that country. The fossil remains of four species of the Dinornis have been hitherto collected in Australia and New Zealand, three of which are remarkable for their size, and the fourth for the strength and thickness of its bony structure. The Moa, whose remains have been collected in considerable quantity, is estimated to have stood the enormous height of sixteen feet. The New Zealanders assert that this extraordinary bird was in existence in the days of their ancestors, and was finally destroyed by their grandfathers. But these and similar statements of the aborigines of New Zealand and Australia are seldom worthy of any attention, and are generally the result of a manufacturing facility on the part of the natives, after they perceive some interest to be excited among the colonists, and have been themselves repeatedly questioned regarding any particular objects. The Moa, for example, never appeared to have been either known or described by the New Zealand natives, until its bones

* Professor Owen's letter to Dr Hobson of Melbourne, in Tasmanian Journal of July 1845, p. 345.

† Signifying a terrible bird.

were discovered by the English.* It was suggested by Professor Hitchcock that this gigantic bird might still be in existence, and the occupant of the enormous nests met with by Cook and Flinders on the Australian coasts.† But Mr Gunn, the talented naturalist of Van Diemen's Land, has since shown that these extraordinary domiciles are constructed by the Australian sea eagle (Ichthyœtus leucogaster), a bird common to all Australia, and occupying a much larger nest than his own dimensions would seem to require.‡

Australia Felix, as already mentioned, bears, in its geological features, decided marks of having experienced extensive volcanic disruption over its surface. From the disturbing effects occasionally exhibited in the upper and most recent deposits by the vicinity and protrusion of basaltic rocks, these operations would appear to have occurred within a comparatively modern era. Volcanic hills are numerously scattered over the district, comprehended in a belt of the finest portion of the country, extending from the bay of Port Phillip about thirty miles north, and thence in a westerly direction for some distance into the South Australian territory. Most of the detached hills have well marked craters, and the rocky material in such instances is uniformly basalt, intermixed with lava and light porous stones.

* See Appendix E for an account of the Bunyup or Kianpraty of the Port Phillip aborigines.

† Flinders' Voyage, vol. i. p. 64.

‡ Tasmanian Journal, July 1845, p. 359, and January 1846, p. 459.

The observer, placed in the crater of Mount Eeles, or the gully of the Wannon already described, or on the volcanic hills of Lake Colac,* can scarcely resist the feeling that he stands amidst scenes which have but recently exhibited a terrible contrast to their present tranquillity and verdure. These volcanic reservoirs have covered with their ejected masses many thousand square miles of the ancient surface of the country, affording the basis of a rich and productive soil. The wrath of nature has again subsided, and the flames and terrors of her stupendous operations have passed away. The once livid hills now echo to the bleating flocks of the shepherd, depasturing over the grassy carpet; and the quietly revolving sun illuminates a beautiful and varied landscape, the scene of successful industry, and the prospective seat of a new British empire.

* At the foot of one of the craters in this locality into which I descended, I found a lake about a mile in circumference, with a beach of pieces of basalt and lava. It was nearly full of a kind of blue mud of great depth, and the water tasted very nauseously of sulphuretted hydrogen.

CHAPTER X.

GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY OF DISCOVERY PRIOR TO THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT OF AUSTRALIA FELIX IN 1835.

Australia Felix, Geographical and Political Relations—The Colony of New South Wales—Discovery by Cook—First Discovery of Australia disputed; Captain Paulmier; two old Charts—Authentic Discovery by the Dutch—Torres Straits—Discovery of Bass's Straits and Port Western—Harbour of Port Phillip; Description, and of adjacent Country—Penal Settlement under Collins in 1804; abandoned soon after—Settlement at Port Western, also abandoned—Permanent Settlement by the Van Diemen's Land Colonists in 1835.

AUSTRALIA FELIX forms the Southern Division or District of the large colony of New South Wales, whose early career has already been briefly described to the reader, and is at present officially comprehended by Bass's Straits and Cape Howe to the southward and eastward, the river Murray to the north, and the South Australian boundary line of 141° of E. Long. towards the west, comprising an area of about 97,000 square miles. It has not yet been erected into a distinct colonial government, but its rapid progress in commerce and population required at an early stage some local administration, which has been conducted for the last eight years by a superintendent and other

officers under authority of the Sydney government.* Three counties have been established in connexion with the three principal towns of the province. Melbourne, the capital of the county of Bourke, is also the chief town of the entire district; Geelong is the capital of the county of Grant, and Portland of that of Normanby. The remainder of the country is comprised in five great pastoral districts, namely, Gipps' Land, Murray, Western Port, Portland, and Wimmera.†

The comparative importance of the harbour of Port Phillip, in whose vicinity the settlements were first formed, has occasioned the name of that spacious estuary to be very commonly applied to the surrounding territory; hence the official designation of the Port Phillip District. But I have preferred the more distinct and auspicious designation of Australia Felix, bestowed in 1836 by Sir Thomas Mitchell, in honour of its beautiful interior scenery.‡

The colony of New South Wales, by its original patent, extended from Cape York, the north-eastern extremity of Australia, to the south cape of the island of Van Diemen's Land, supposed at that period to be a part of the mainland; and in a westerly direction

* A supreme court under a resident judge with his staff was opened at Melbourne in March 1841.

† Certain new regulations as to colonial lands, enacted during last session of parliament, will be noticed in a subsequent part of this work.

‡ The reader will find in the Preface a few remarks with regard to this subject.

to 135° of east longitude, corresponding nearly with the general limits usually assigned to the New South Wales of Captain Cook, as distinguished from the earlier discoveries of the Dutch in the western half of the country, comprised under the name of New Holland. This immense territory has since been gradually reduced in its dimensions by the successive detachment of Van Diemen's Land, South Australia, and latterly of North Australia,* and also of the islands of New Zealand, which had previously for a short period at first been appended to the New South Wales government. Each of these several territories has been erected into a separate government; but the original colony, now bounded on the north by the 26th parallel of latitude, still flourishes within an ample area, measuring upwards of 900 miles in length, by an average breadth of more than two-thirds of that extent, and inhabited by 190,000 colonists.

Although the northern coasts of Australia had been ascertained during the early part of the seventeenth century, it was not until within the last eighty years that any part of the present colony of New South Wales had been made known to the world. The celebrated Captain Cook, who had been sent out by

* The new colony of North Australia must not be confounded with the government colony of Port Essington, which is sometimes called also North Australia. The former commences at 26° S. Lat. to the northward of Moreton Bay, and was intended as the location of a new penal settlement. In the present unsettled state of public feeling as to penal colonies, the plan only recently projected has lately been abandoned by the home government.

the British government to Tahiti, for the observation of the transit of Venus, sailing westward from that island, after surveying New Zealand, came upon the coast, on the 19th April 1770, in the vicinity of Cape Howe, and perceived it stretching in a westerly direction to nearly 149° of E. Long. He turned towards the north, surveying the outline of this new country as far as Cape York. He anchored for a time at Botany Bay, to gratify his scientific companions by the examination of new and extraordinary types of animal and vegetable life. A few miles to the north of this bay, a sailor descried from the mast-head the harbour of Port Jackson, which was thought at the time to be nothing more important than a boat-haven, and took its name from that of its obscure discoverer.

The French have claimed the honour of the first discovery of Australia, which they attribute to Captain Paulmier de Gonneville, who is supposed to have been driven on the Australian shores so early as the year 1504; but it appears more probable that the coast in this instance was that of the island of Madagascar. A country of vast extent, placed to the southward of the Moluccas, is laid down in two curious old charts, apparently copies of one another, the one in the English, the other in the French language, which are now in the British Museum. The English chart has a letter of dedication to the king of England dated 1542. This country is named Great Java, and in its position, and also to some appreciable extent in its outline, bears some identity to Australia. But the

exaggerated extent of this territory, and the animals and houses painted on its shores, throw a doubt over the reality of any actual discovery of its coasts, further than the vague descriptions collected from eastern nations by the Portuguese navigators. It is possible, however, that parts of the north and north-west coasts, where the coincidence of form is most striking, may have been seen by the Portuguese prior to 1540.*

The first authenticated discovery appears to have been made in the Dutch yacht called the Duyfhen about March 1606. This vessel, leaving the port of Bantam towards the end of the previous year, coasted along the eastern shore of the Gulf of Carpentaria as far as Cape Keer-weer, or Turnagain, supposing it to be the west coast of New Guinea. The explorers were induced to turn back in consequence of a scarcity of provisions, and their fears for "the wild cruel black savages, by whom some of their crew were murdered." At a later period of the same year, Luis Vaez de Torres, sailing from Callao in Peru, coasted along the Louisiade Islands, and passed through the difficult straits now bearing his name, discovering during his passage the hills of Cape York, which he describes as very high islands, situated in the 11th degree of south latitude. The discovery of this strait was kept so secret by the Spanish government, that it may be said to have been unknown to the world prior to the explorations of Captain Cook. When Madrid was taken by the British forces in 1762, a

* Flinders, Introduction, p. 5.

copy of Torres' letter, which was dated Manilla, 7th July 1607, was found in the archives of Manilla by Mr Dalrymple, who named the strait after its discoverer.* "Perhaps," remarks Flinders, who assisted in surveying this locality, "no space of $3\frac{1}{2}°$ in length presents more dangers than Torres' Straits."

No farther exploration of the Port Phillip District appears to have been effected for a period of nearly thirty years after the discovery of its eastern extremity in 1770 by Captain Cook. Captain Furneaux, indeed, who visited Van Diemen's Land in 1773, and sailed across the eastern entrance of Bass's Straits, with the view of ascertaining the continuity of the land with that of New South Wales, reported that he saw land to the northward, and "that there is no strait between New Holland and Van Diemen's Land, but only a very deep bay." But having halted in his progress at the 39th degree of latitude, whence he turned off to New Zealand, he saw only some of the numerous islands of the strait, which were afterwards, in 1798, more fully explored by Flinders.

The year 1798 introduces the expedition of the adventurous Mr Bass, who, with the slender means of a whale-boat, sallied out from Port Jackson, and proceeded on a cruise of discovery to the southward. Having passed the Long Beach, and rounded the bold and projecting headland of Wilson's Promontory, he found that the land trended in a north-westerly direction; and after coasting for some distance, he entered a

* Flinders, Introduction, p. 8-10.

spacious harbour, which, from its situation with reference to Sydney, he named Port Western. Having remained thirteen days in the bay, during which time he experienced much difficulty in procuring water, he again put to sea in his little craft, and visited Corner Inlet on his return to Sydney. The insularity of Van Diemen's Land had thus been established, and the strait was afterwards named from its discoverer. It was first passed through in December 1800, by Captain Grant, in H.M. brig Lady Nelson, on his way to Sydney, who named Cape Otway and several other localities, and explored the unknown coast from Port Western to 140¼° of E. longitude.

The harbour of Port Phillip was discovered in the year 1802, by Lieutenant John Murray, who had succeeded Grant in the command of the Lady Nelson. At this time, Captain Matthew Flinders, in H.M. ship Investigator, was engaged in the exploration and survey of the unknown portion of the coast of Southern Australia, to the eastward of the 133d degree of E. longitude. Having traced the extensive gulfs named Spencer and St Vincent, the tranquil and land-locked waters of Port Phillip did not escape his attention. He entered the bay in April 1802; but afterwards learned that his visit had been preceded by that of Murray by the short space of only ten weeks. Port Phillip received its name at the hands of Governor Hunter, then in authority at Sydney, in honour of his predecessor, who was the first governor of the colony. A hill at the south-eastern angle of the bay received from

Lieutenant Murray the designation of Arthur Seat, from a supposed but very indistinct resemblance to the celebrated original near Edinburgh.

The entrance to this extensive basin was found by Flinders to be only two miles in width, and nearly one-half of this narrow passage to be taken up by a ridge of rocks proceeding from the eastern or Point Nepean side, and by shoals on the opposite shore. The main channel was of irregular depth, varying from six to twelve fathoms, and this irregularity of the bottom, together with the impetuous tides, occasioned breakers which were dangerous to small vessels, especially when running against the wind. The captain landed with a party upon Indented Head, and afterwards crossing the Geelong arm of the bay, walked over the country to Station Peak. "It is in a great measure a grassy country," says Flinders, "and capable of supporting much cattle, though better adapted for sheep."*

At a short distance beyond the western extremity of the coast of the Port Phillip District, Flinders encountered a rival explorer, in the person of Captain Baudin, despatched by the French Republic to the Australian shores. This navigator, after surveying the south-eastern coast of Van Diemen's Land, had arrived on the field then occupied by Flinders, but too late to discover much that was then unknown. He did not, however, appear disposed, in the construction of his charts, to pay much respect to the prior discoveries of others. But the ambitious designation of *Terre Napoleon*,

* Flinders, p. 219.

which he conferred upon an extensive tract of the Port Phillip and South Australian territories, has not secured its position in Australian geography.

The discovery of the harbour of Port Phillip appears to have attracted some attention. A new colony was projected by the British government in 1803, to be founded on the shores of the bay; and Colonel Collins, with the title of lieutenant-governor, was despatched to accomplish that purpose, accompanied by a party of military and a body of convicts. During the same year, Mr Charles Grimes, then surveyor-general of New South Wales, had been sent from Sydney to effect a survey of the bay, in the fulfilment of which duty he reports having met with several runs of fresh water, "and in particular a small river falling into the northern head of the port,"* now the Yarra Yarra. Collins arrived at his destination in the following year. The location of his hasty or injudicious choice may still be seen on the southern shore of the bay, about half way between Arthur Seat and Point Nepean. It was destitute of fresh water, and without facilities for shipping. Difficulties soon appeared in the new settlement; and several of the convicts succeeded in making their escape. It was deemed advisable therefore to abandon Port Phillip, and the lieutenant-governor, who appears to have been authorized to try other quarters if necessary, transhipped his party to the banks of the river Derwent in Van Diemen's Land, where Lieutenant-colonel Patterson from Sydney had just formed a colony, and given

* Flinders, vol. i. p. 218.

a commencement to the present elegant, picturesque, and considerable city of Hobart Town.

A long interval elapses ere Australia Felix again emerges into notice. The report of Hovell and Hume, whose expedition in 1824-25 has been already alluded to, induced the New South Wales government to contemplate the foundation of a settlement at Port Western. After a preliminary examination by Mr Hovell, Captain Weatherall, R. N., with a party of soldiers under the command of Captain Wright, was despatched in 1826 to take possession, and to form a nucleus with the view of attracting the neighbouring colonists. A small fortification was erected at the eastern extremity of Phillip Island, which lies across the mouth of the Port, the projected settlement being made upon the mainland of the opposite shore. Captain Weatherall reports that coal was to be found in the vicinity of his station, both on Phillip Island and at Cape Patterson. But the result of this colonizing experiment not answering the expectations of the government, the place was abandoned about two years afterwards. The permanent settlement of the country, which is the subject of the succeeding chapter, took place in 1835, about seven years after this occurrence, and was effected by the Van Diemen's Land colonists, who had already, during an interval of thirty-one years from the first colonization of the island, attained to a position of importance and prosperity.

CHAPTER XI.

PERMANENT SETTLEMENT OF THE DISTRICT AROUND PORT PHILLIP.

Description of Van Diemen's Land—Limited Pasturage of that Colony—Favourable Rumours of the Pasture Lands around Port Phillip — General Attention excited — Associations — Fawkner and Batman—Batman visits Port Phillip and makes a Purchase of Lands from the Natives—Arrival of Fawkner's Party—Disputes as to Right of Property—Future Site of Melbourne—Doubts as to Batman's Title to his Purchase—Progress of the Settlement—Story of Buckley—Officer of Government arrives from Sydney—Annuls the Purchases of Land from Natives—Legal Opinion taken in England by the Association—Receives a small Compensation—Melancholy Fate of Gellibrand and Hesse—Progress of the Settlement up to 1837.

THE island of Van Diemen's Land is separated by Bass's Straits from the colony of New South Wales, and lies to the southward of the latter territory, at a distance of about twenty-four hours sail. Founded as a British settlement in the year 1804, it had attained in 1835 to a population of upwards of 40,000 souls, and, as a penal establishment of Britain, had received important commercial and monetary support from the parent state. Out of 40,000 inhabitants at the time

we now speak of, no less than 17,000 were criminals who were then undergoing their term of sentence.* Under a system of private assignment, the services of these numerous prisoners were liberally made available to the free colonists; and if the moral interests of society have suffered by this contagious admixture, the system was nevertheless efficient in promoting the improvement of the country. The fertile soil was heavily encumbered with trees; but the abundance of convict labour overcame every difficulty. Roads were constructed, the land cleared and cultivated, and many extensive farms already diversified the scenery of this beautiful and romantic island.

But this laborious exertion of clearing the thickly timbered ground, though remunerative in the cause of agriculture, could not be undertaken for the mere depasturing of sheep. The extent of country naturally available for this purpose was exceedingly limited. The western half of the island, covered with rugged mountains and extensive forests, was scarcely even explored by the colonists, and long afforded a secure asylum for the desperate career of the bush-ranger, and a wretched and hostile remnant of the aboriginal population. This mountainous character extended also

* The exact population of Van Diemen's Land in this year was:—

Free colonists,	23,315
Under bond,	16,968
Total,	40,283

The "free colonists" included those who were originally convicts but had become free by servitude.

to the eastern and more favoured part of the island, where Ben Nevis and Ben Lomond, with the elevated masses with which they are connected, reared their lofty summits in successful rivalry with their prototypes of the northern hemisphere.* The remainder of the island, in general fertile and exuberant in vegetation, is either scantily supplied with grass, or so thickly covered with trees as to occasion serious expense and inconvenience in the management of the live stock. In the open downs of New South Wales, the flocks of sheep, consisting of one or two thousand each, may be seen roaming with freedom and safety, while tended and watched only by a single shepherd; but in Van Diemen's Land, where most of the available lands have now been purchased from the Crown, it has been found expedient to proceed to the expense of surrounding with a fence the whole extent of the pasturage pertaining to each estate, in order to maintain the sheep upon the property, and prevent their wandering in a boundless forest.

Thus limited in the extent of country available for pastoral purposes, the Van Diemen's Land colonists, about the time now alluded to, were already anxious for the prospects of their increasing live stock. A calculation had been previously entered into on the part of some of the landed proprietors of the island, from which it appeared that the average extent of their

* According to Strzelecki, Ben Lomond is 5002 feet high, Ben Nevis 3910. Mount Humboldt, the highest of the island, is 5520 feet, and Mount Wellington near Hobart Town 4195 feet.

pastoral estates should be at the rate of two acres of land for the support of each sheep. But subsequent experience had shown that this was too small an allowance. The sheep, cooped up within their narrow bounds, incessantly cropped from the same grass, and during the dry season of summer, when the growth is occasionally arrested, they ate off the blade and even the roots of the plant, which was thus injured or destroyed by its exposure to a scorching sun. A falling off in the supply of pasturage had begun to be experienced likewise on this account; so that several circumstances came into operation to occasion an extraordinary excitement when the extensive pastures around Port Phillip were made known to the colonists.

Prior to 1835, the northern shores of Bass's Straits had been repeatedly visited by various individuals under the casualties of colonial traffic and adventure. The whaling business was then pursued with success along the coasts and islands of the straits, and every cove and inlet was already perhaps familiar to the hardy pioneers of commerce and colonization who were engaged in that trade. More intent upon the objects of the sea than of the land, the whalers and sealers of the straits had probably not been very studious of the pastoral capabilities around them. Rumours of a favourable character had nevertheless reached Van Diemen's Land regarding the open grassy country that formed the southern territory of New South Wales, and other concurrent causes farther stimulated public interest in that direction. Importations of cattle and salted provisions on a considerable scale had

been recently made to Van Diemen's Land from Twofold Bay, where an extensive cattle station had been established by the Messrs Imlay in connexion with Sydney. Still nearer to the Port Phillip Estuary was the whaling station of the Messrs Henty, formed during the previous year * at Portland Bay in connexion with Launceston, the capital of the northern portion of Van Diemen's Land. Major Mitchell, in descending to the coast in 1836, after exploring the beautiful solitudes of Australia Felix, was agreeably surprised by the unexpected vision of this incipient British settlement, where the habitations of civilized man formed a cheerful contrast to the scenes which he had previously traversed.† Seven hundred tuns of oil had been exported from Portland during the season preceding his visit, and the shipping employed for this purpose was freighted with return-cargoes of sheep from Launceston, which were spread over the grassy downs of the lower course of the Wannon. Even so early as 1834 the Van Diemen's Land flocks had already been transported to the opposite shores, and were cropping the pastures of the western portion of the Port Phillip District.‡

In April 1835, six of the Launceston colonists, namely, Messrs Samuel and William Jackson, Fawkner, Marr, Evans, and Lancy, formed themselves into an

* 1834. † Mitchell's Australia, vol. ii. pp. 238, 239.

‡ "Numerous flocks and herds, belonging to Messrs Henty and other settlers near Port Dalrymple, are located and prosper well at Cape Portland, on the coast of New South Wales."—Ross's Hobart Town Almanac for 1835, chronological summary for October 1834.

association for the purpose of colonizing the shores of Port Phillip, and transporting their live stock to the vacant pastures. It was necessary, however, in the first instance, to send to Sydney, a distance of nearly 600 miles, in order to procure a suitable vessel for the purposes of the expedition, and a considerable delay was thus occasioned. Meanwhile the subject became popular, and a mania or excitement was gradually arising, which shortly afterwards acquired the title of "the Port Phillip fever." The delay of the first party was favourable to the enterprise of others. Mr John Batman, a native of Paramatta near Sydney, but then residing in Van Diemen's Land, has acquired the distinction of being the founder of the Port Phillip settlement. Consulting with various friends on the all-absorbing topic of the day, he resolved on a personal inspection of "the promised land," and for that purpose embarked in a small vessel at Launceston on the 12th of May 1835, and directed his course for Port Phillip.

The town of Launceston is situated about forty miles from the sea, at the head of the valley of the Tamar, a broad and beautiful river, whose banks are now diversified with gardens and cultivated fields and the country residences of the more wealthy colonists. From the heads of the Tamar, or Port Dalrymple, to the entrance of Port Phillip, the distance in a straight line is computed to be one hundred and ninety miles. Batman safely entered the harbour of his destination, and effected a landing on its western shore. His intention

was to communicate with the aboriginal natives of the new country, with the view of negotiating for a tract of land for the use of himself and friends, and for this purpose he was accompanied by seven civilized natives of New South Wales, who were to act as interpreters in the proposed arrangement. Several of the wandering lords of the Australian soil were encountered the day after the arrival of the party. They were a comparatively stout, well made, and intelligent race of men, and appeared to comprehend the object in view. An amicable intercourse was commenced; and Mr Batman having explained that he intended for the future to reside amongst them with his family, he intimated his desire to purchase some of their land for the pasture of his sheep and cattle. Those who were present appeared not disinclined to enter into the proposed arrangement; and after some farther communication during a month's residence in the country, Batman re-embarked for Launceston on the 14th June, well satisfied with the success of his first mission. He proposed returning on an early occasion to complete the purchase of the land from the aborigines, and in the mean time left instructions with three Europeans and five of the New South Wales aborigines who remained behind, to erect a house and lay out a piece of ground for the reception of himself and family.

Batman's report on his return to Van Diemen's Land created an extraordinary sensation. From Launceston he proceeded to Hobart Town, where Captain Swanston and other influential parties took up the subject with great

zeal, and an association was quickly formed, consisting at first of sixteen individuals,* who subscribed some small amount of capital, appointed Batman as their agent, and despatched him on his second mission to Port Phillip, with a supply of articles to serve as purchase-money for the use of the natives, and certain legal documents which some of the more sanguine of the party conceived might confer a greater validity on the transaction.

Arrived once more on the scene of action, Batman proceeded to collect together as many chiefs or seniors of tribes as were to be found in the vicinity; and in the presence of three principal and five subordinate rulers the covenants were entered into with all due solemnity. The deeds which had been previously prepared received the ratifying mark of the Australian patriarchs; and in the customary form of delivering a portion of the soil, these aboriginal representatives made over to the association two extensive tracts of country, comprehending together about 600,000 acres.† The stipulated consideration for so lordly an estate consisted of a certain quantity of flour, knives, blankets, and other necessaries, to be paid as an annual tribute, amounting in value to about £200, together with a present earnest of similar articles for distribution among the natives who were then assembled.‡

* Namely, Messrs J. Batman, C. Swanston, T. Bannister, J. Simpson, J. T. Gellibrand, T. Learmonth, H. Arthur, J. & W. Robertson, H. Wedge, J. Sinclair, J. T. Collicott, A. Cottrell, W. G. Sams, M. Connolly, and G. Mercer.

† See Apendix F for a copy of the conveyance.

‡ See Appendix G.

The purchase which had thus been effected for the association consisted of two separate tracts of country, one of which lay chiefly around the southern and western shores of the harbour of Geelong, and the other around the lower course of the Yarra and adjacent rivers and the upper part of the bay of Port Phillip, since distinguished as Hobson's Bay, in honour of Captain Hobson of the Prince George, who afterwards accomplished the first survey of the port. Batman had selected for his own residence the central position of Indented Head, situated about fifteen miles from the entrance to Port Phillip, and commanding a beautiful and extensive prospect.

We must now, however, return to the party associated with Fawkner, whose vessel, appropriately designated the "Enterprise," at length made her appearance in Launceston, and received her appointed cargo of live stock, and her impatient passengers. But delays were still to be experienced; for, shortly after quitting the Tamar, the party were driven back into the river by a gale; and eventually it was the 30th of August ere they had disembarked their stock. They had called by the way to inspect the locality of Western Port; but the prospect being uninviting, they had gone on to the original destination of Port Phillip.

The intruding sail was speedily descried, as she approached the entrance of the harbour, whose expanded waters were watched with a jealous eye by the monarch of Indented Head. He proceeded to meet the new adventurers, and warned them against encroaching on

the territories he had lately acquired. The Messrs Jackson therefore moved beyond the limits to which he laid claim, and sat down upon a tract of fine pastoral land situated upon the Salt Water River about twenty miles above its junction with the waters of the Yarra Yarra, and they still continue to occupy their original location.

Fawkner, however, disregarding the threats of Batman, occupied a position of great beauty and promise, that presented itself on the northern bank of the Yarra, about eight miles, by the river's course, from its junction with the upper termination of the bay. A rising ground, covered with verdant grass, sloped gently towards the river, at a part where the Yarra expanded its waters into a considerable basin, conveniently adapted for the purposes of shipping. At the upper extremity of this natural reservoir, a ledge of rocks partially crossed the river, which occasioned a fall in the body of the water, and served in a great degree to protect the freshness of the upper river from the brackish stream that flowed beneath. From the summit of the eminence on the northern bank, the waters of the bay were visible to the southward, over the tops of the trees of an intermediate flat, the nearest part of the shore being less than two miles distant in a direct line. To the westward, the river pursued a circuitous course to its mouth; a salt-water lake or swamp skirted its northern bank; and beyond appeared the beautiful valley of the Salt Water River, which united its waters with those of the Yarra about four miles above its junction with

the bay. The country in a northerly direction was of an undulating character, covered with grass, and moderately wooded with large trees of the Eucalyptus family. The Yarra slowly rolled its deep and dark waters from the eastward, between banks that were occasionally lofty and picturesque; and the gigantic emu stalked over the grassy downs, as yet undisturbed in that tranquil region of the Australian territory. Such was the site of the present capital of Australia Felix. The choice made by Fawkner was afterwards confirmed by the governor of the colony, and Melbourne, thus commenced about the end of 1835, was officially established in 1837. It is now, in the year 1847, the seaport of an extensive interior country, and contains a population of 12,000 souls. A brief interval of ten or twelve years has wonderfully altered the character of the pristine landscape. The noise of human industry now disturbs the once tranquil scene, and the smooth grassy surface of the country is furrowed by incessant traffic, or ploughed up and sown with an unwonted vegetation for the uses of its new inhabitants.

The particular locality selected by Fawkner was that which now forms the market square of the town. Here he raised a small wooden edifice, to serve for an inn or public house, and proceeded to plough up the rich alluvial flat on the opposite side of the river, which in due season yielded to his party the reward of an ample crop. This piece of ground, which is not yet sold, and remains the property of the crown, has been again abandoned to the grass and native plants of the

country; but its surface still continues to exhibit the ridge and furrow of its former application, whose traces, not easily accountable to the uninitiated, have more than once attracted a geological eye, and been referred, with the usual facilities of the science, to a much more remote era than that of either Mr Fawkner or his plough.

The operations of Fawkner compelled Batman, for the better protection of his property, to remove from the inconvenient location of Indented Head to a position somewhat nearer to the enemy's camp; and accordingly he settled upon the beautiful green hill, since called by his own name, at the western extremity of the town, where his original wooden mansion still remains, and was afterwards occupied for some period as the offices of the local government. Here Batman opened a general store, to supply the demands of a prosperous and increasing population; while Fawkner administered to the still more urgent customers of the public house. But notwithstanding the profitable aspect of the times, which has usually a mollifying influence over human nature, the representatives of either body appear to have maintained a grumbling species of mutual warfare; on the one hand, for an invasion of the rights of private property, on the other for an illegal grasping of the public territory.

The title, indeed, by which Batman and his friends claimed their extensive possessions was one that admitted of some doubt even in their own minds. They deemed it advisable, therefore, on an early occasion, to report their proceedings to the Van Diemen's Land govern-

ment, at that time administered by Colonel (afterwards Sir George) Arthur, as lieutenant-governor of the colony. Governor Arthur, though personally desirous of forwarding their views, could give them but little hope that the home government would sanction their bargain; but he despatched a favourable report of the case, recommending, at the same time, that the newly settled district should be constituted a dependency of Van Diemen's Land.

Most of the members of the Port Phillip Association, by no means sanguine as to the validity of their claims to the vast property which they had acquired on such easy terms from the natives, were not therefore indisposed to listen to the offers of a few among their number who had a larger measure of hope in the future; and eventually the entire interest of the original body was bought up by four of the members, who gave to the new copartnery the name of the Derwent Company. Several other similar bodies were established in connexion with pastoral pursuits at Port Phillip; and one of these early associations, under the title of the Clyde Company, promoted chiefly by Captain Wood, still maintains a profitable career in the Geelong District.

In the mean time a stream of Van Diemen's Land colonists followed in the track of the two pioneering bodies who had occupied the new country. The beautiful pastures around the site of the present town of Geelong early attracted attention. Messrs Cowie and Stead, and Dr Thomson, afterwards one of the representatives for the Port Phillip District in the Colonial

Legislature, have claimed the distinction of being the first settlers upon that promising country. They were promptly followed by numerous other colonists, and the valleys of the Moorabool and the Barwon soon exhibited a crowded scene of rival flocks and herds, where the proverbial serenity of pastoral life was not always exemplified in the mutual intercourse of the new occupants.*

About the middle of 1836, one year after the arrival of the earliest settlers, 35,000 sheep had arrived from Van Diemen's Land, and the pastoral stations were spread over the plains around the salt-water river the Weirribee, the Barwon, and the Leigh. A few had also been planted further inland towards the west and the north, and the curling smoke might be occasionally seen upon the south-eastern horizon, indicating the presence of the settlers in the direction of Western Port. But the "land of promise" lay chiefly towards the west, where from recent observation, as far as exploration had yet proceeded, and from the reports of the settlers at Portland Bay, it was known that there existed a vast extent of rich and beautiful country.†

* The first few of the settlers, being at remote distances from one another, and occasionally in the vicinity of considerable bodies of the natives, had a large bell upon their stations for the purpose of sounding an alarm and calling assistance at a time of danger. One or two of the posts to which these bells were attached are still pointed out in the vicinity of Geelong. For several particulars of these early occurrences I am indebted to Dr John Learmonth of the Geelong District, and also to Mr T. Learmonth, who was one of the members of the association.

† "I have seen gentlemen who have been there (Portland Bay) lately, who say the land is the same as at Port Phillip. In short,

Great apprehensions appear to have been at first entertained of the want of water for the live stock in a country where there were few or no permanent rivers. But the long experience of Buckley, who had never witnessed any protracted drought during summer, somewhat reassured the settlers, and their sheep were poured into the vacant country as rapidly as they could be brought over by the several craft which incessantly ploughed the waters of the intervening straits. Seven different vessels were thus engaged, which usually accomplished the trip to and from Launceston in twelve or fourteen days, and with their united capacity transported on each occasion above 4000 sheep.*

The number of sheep in Van Diemen's Land about this period was computed to amount to nearly 800,000; but from the thinness and limited extent of the pasturage,

from all I can learn, the land for 200 or 300 miles to the westward of the lake of Port Phillip is excellent for all agricultural purposes." Mr G. MacKillop's letter, July 1836, in the Calcutta *Englishman*.

* The first Port Phillip colonists may look back with interest upon the early fleet that was thus busily engaged in founding the pastoral commerce of Australia Felix. No other apology is needed for here introducing the names and capacity of the members of the little navy :—

Chili, brig, carried	1400	sheep
Henry, do. do.	700	„
Adelaide, brigantine schooner,	500	„
Champion, do. do.	600	„
Gem, do. do.	400	„
Enterprise, do. do.	250	„
Vansittart, cutter,	350	„
Total	4200	

Vide Mr MacKillop, *ubi supra*.

it was difficult to fatten the stock, and it was already predicted that the rich pastures around Port Phillip would ere long supply the Van Diemen's Land market. The price of sheep in the latter colony had been considerably advanced by the speculative ferment of the Port Phillip emigration, and they were then selling at from 30s. to 40s. per head. Working bullocks also, which were there used in preference to horses, were so high as £40 per pair, and good milch cows £14 each. These high prices, in connexion with the delay and losses arising from the sea voyage, restricted the transactions of the Port Phillip colonists. But they daily looked for a commencement of overland intercourse with their neighbours of the old colony to the north, where the settlers of the Yass Plains, skirting the river Murrumbidgee, were already possessed of numerous flocks and herds, which bore a more reasonable price than those of Van Diemen's Land. These prospects were soon after amply realized; the live stock of the Sydney District, pouring forth in continuous streams across the Murrumbidgee and the Murray, roamed over the pastures to the south and west; and the spacious intervening area between Yass and Port Phillip has long since been occupied by the numerous stations of the squatters.

A curious incident diversifies the early history of the Port Phillip settlement. Several persons who were engaged in landing sheep from a trader lying off the site of the present port of Williamstown at Hobson's Bay, perceived a human being of extraordinary appearance, who had approached the scene of their operations.

He was a man of huge dimensions, differing considerably from the aboriginal natives, but scarcely to be recognised as a European. Seated under a tree, he was watching the shepherds with a kind of listless gaze, apparently little excited by the presence of the strangers. When accosted by the settlers, however, he seemed to be roused from his lethargy, and was observed to repeat their words slowly over to himself, as if endeavouring to recall their meaning. This singular individual was ascertained to have been one of the convicts brought out to Port Phillip thirty-three years previously under Colonel Collins. His name was Buckley. He had been a private soldier, and suffered transportation for striking his superior officer. Along with several fellow-convicts he had effected his escape during the brief period that the party occupied the southern coast of the bay. Having outlived his comrades, he had wandered throughout the adjacent country with the aboriginal natives, and during so lengthened an experience of savage life, had entirely dismissed the outward characteristics of a civilized being. Great interest was excited by his history, but he was always extremely reserved and incommunicable in his manners. Mr Batman took him under his care, and a free pardon was afterwards procured for him through the good offices of Lieutenant-governor Arthur. He was then appointed to the office of a constable at Melbourne; but on his expressing a reluctance to continue in the settlement, he was transferred in the same capacity to Hobart Town in Van Diemen's Land.

The seat of government at Sydney was at this period occupied by Sir Richard Burke, who regarded the Port Phillip District as pertaining to his own jurisdiction, and declined to join with Lieutenant-governor Arthur in recommending the annexation of the new settlement to the Van Diemen's Land territory. Accordingly an officer of government in the person of Mr Stewart, a magistrate of New South Wales, was despatched from Sydney to Port Phillip in 1836, about a year after the first arrival of Batman, with instructions to ascertain the capabilities of the place, and to proclaim the invalidity of all purchases of land effected from the aboriginal natives without the sanction of government. Mr Stewart arrived in the bay by the revenue cutter Prince George, and duly issued his proclamation, which was printed in handbills, and posted on the gum-trees in the vicinity of Hobson's Bay. The two contending parties of Batman and Fawkner had previously arrived at some mutual understanding and sufferance, by the appointment of an umpire in the person of Mr James Simpson, a highly esteemed fellow-colonist, who had the honour in the succeeding year to be the first appointed magistrate for the settlement.

Apprehensive even from the first of some difficulty with regard to their title, Batman and his friends had lost no time in submitting their case to an eminent counsel of the mother country. Their papers were forwarded to William Burge, Esq., M. P., whose opinion was returned in an able document, dated 16th January 1836. He was clearly of opinion that the

bargain was invalid, chiefly on the ground of the native title being always held in British law to be subordinate, as regarded subjects, to the claims of government. He quoted the case of the purchase effected by Penn from the American Indians, which was considered to have added nothing to his title, whose strength lay in the fact of the land having been previously granted by the crown.

According to anticipation the answer of the home government proved also unfavourable to the claims of the association. The wandering aborigines, it was stated, were not to be regarded as having any property in land which they never cultivated or settled on; and a further obstacle appeared from the circumstance that the locality in question was already included within the boundaries of the colony of New South Wales, and was therefore subject, in regard to its lands, to the same regulations that prevailed in the northern part of the territory. The whole transaction was therefore declared to be null and void, together with various others of a similar character; and the Port Phillip *squatters*, as occupants of the territory of New South Wales, were afterwards required to take out an annual depasturing licence in terms of a colonial act passed at Sydney, which came into operation in the commencement of 1837. The claims of the association were finally disposed of by a compensation allowance to the extent of £7000, to be given by way of remission in the purchase of land; and the once magnificent estate of the Derwent Company, reduced to the one hundredth part,

is now represented by a beautiful grassy valley of the Moorabool, near the junction of that river with the Barwon, a few miles to the north-west of the town of Geelong.*

The melancholy fate of two of the earlier Port Phillip colonists, Messrs Gellibrand and Hesse, is still remembered and deplored by their numerous friends on either side of the straits. Mr Gellibrand, who was one of the members of the association, abandoned a lucrative business in the law, with which he was engaged at Hobart Town, and, catching the spirit of the times, set out for the new settlement. With all the enthusiasm of more youthful years, he wandered over the vacant country, delighted with its beauty and the boundless extent of its verdant pastures. He was accompanied by his friend Mr Hesse; and these two adventurous colonists started on an excursion to the westward of Port Phillip, from which they never returned. All subsequent search proved unavailing, and the fate of the travellers was long involved in uncertainty. In later years, however, as the colonists spread themselves towards the south and west of the province, they were led to believe, from the answers received to their repeated inquiries, that the aboriginal natives of the mountainous country around Cape Otway were not ignorant of the fate of the two unfortunate gentlemen. About three years ago, Mr Allen, a settler at the mouth of the river Hopkins, had sufficient confidence in the statement of one of these natives to induce him to undertake an expedition to ascertain the truth.

* Now occupied by Dr Learmonth.

The native had promised to conduct him to the spot where one of the white men had been killed by a tribe of the blacks, amongst whom he had arrived. After some unsuccessful search, the party at length reached a spot which the native declared to be the scene of the murder; and a skull, evidently that of a white person, was here found by Mr Allen, which, from several corroborative indications, was afterwards ascertained to be that of Mr. Gellibrand. From the testimony of the natives it may be gathered that the travellers had involved themselves in the rugged mountains and boundless forests of the Cape Otway district, from which they had been unable to disentangle themselves. Mr Hesse appears to have sunk under the effects of hunger and fatigue; but Gellibrand, pushing on in search of assistance for himself and his friend, had soon after reached an encampment of aborigines, where he attempted to relate his melancholy tale. His murder was probably occasioned by a desire on the part of the natives to possess themselves of some of the articles of his dress.* Two hills situated about thirty miles to the westward of Geelong still commemorate the name and fate of these unfortunate colonists. Mount Gellibrand, which is the larger of the two, stands forth from the surrounding plain, a solitary and conspicuous object, destitute of timber and covered with a grassy carpet, and commanding from its smooth and verdant summit an extensive area of the surrounding landscape.

* The natives had previously murdered four of the colonists, including Mr Franks, a settler from Van Diemen's Land.

A public meeting, between Mr Stewart as the representative of government and the Port Phillip colonists, took place in the beginning of June 1836. On this occasion it appeared, that notwithstanding the uncertain tenure of the land, one hundred and seventy-seven persons from Van Diemen's Land had already settled in the neighbourhood of the bay, and had imported live stock and other property from the southern colony to the value of £110,000. By the quinquennial census of the 2d March previous, scarcely seven months after the arrival of the two earlier parties, the population of the Port Phillip District is given at 224 souls, which included the settlers of Portland, and several who were located towards the north-eastern limits in connexion with the Sydney District.* In the following year, namely 1837, when the governor arrived from Sydney on a visit to the southern district, whose thriving circumstances had already extended its reputation over the northern part of the colony, he found a pastoral stock of 150 horses, 2500 head of horned cattle, and 140,000 sheep, with a population of about 450 colonists.

* The present boundary line of the river Murray and Cape Howe as the northern limit of the Port Phillip territory had not been adopted at this period. In 1839, when Mr La Trobe was appointed superintendent of Melbourne, the district was officially stated to be bounded on the north by the thirty-sixth parallel of latitude, which would include Twofold Bay, where there was a large pastoral station at the time of the early settlement of Port Phillip.

CHAPTER XII.

RAPID PROGRESS; LAND SALES AND SPECULATIONS.

The Governor visits Port Phillip—Laying out of Towns—Melbourne, Williamstown, Geelong—Land Sales—Speculations—Great Expense of Living—Influx of Capital and Population from Britain—Busy Scene exhibited by the Colony—Estimate of the early Commerce of Port Phillip.

THE visit of the governor of the colony to Port Phillip forms a second era in the history of the settlement. Sir Richard Bourke having embarked at Sydney in the government cutter Rattlesnake, arrived in the bay in April 1837. An official staff, headed by Captain Lonsdale in the capacity of police magistrate, had been despatched to precede his excellency's arrival, and commenced its operations towards the end of the previous year, consisting of a small detachment of military, a surveying party, an officer of customs, and a missionary to the aborigines. The plans of three towns, already laid out for different eligible sites by the surveyors, were inspected and approved of by the governor, and were respectively denominated Melbourne, the capital of the district, so named in honour of the minister of the day, Williamstown, its seaport at

the mouth of the Yarra Yarra, called after the reigning prince, and Geelong on an arm of the bay about forty-five miles to the south-west.* The governor, after a short trip to the interior, in which he was accompanied by Buckley, whose extraordinary fortunes have been already alluded to, re-embarked for Sydney in the Rattlesnake. During the period of his excellency's sojourn in the district, Captain Hobson, who was in charge of the government cutter, had completed a survey of the bay and the harbour of Geelong.

The town of Melbourne was laid out on the northern bank of the Yarra in the form of an oblong square, with the streets at right angles to one another. The principal streets are of convenient breadth, and promise for the larger population and more elegant structures of the future city an open and agreeable effect, in accordance with the climate of the country. But each of the considerable blocks which they mark out is traversed by a lane or "little street," affording a traffic entrance to the houses and stores; and the cheaper sections of land in these localities have been bought up by the poorer classes, who are often too densely thronged in their narrow quarters.

The site of the town, whose lands were subsequently the objects of such extravagant speculation, had been mapped out in half-acre portions called allotments, a term

* Geelong is the native name of the locality where this town is situated. Portland was not laid out until about three years afterwards, when that part of the country was surveyed by Mr Tyers.

now associated with many sore reminiscences of golden hopes and rusty realities in the hard but wholesome experience of the colonists. The first land-sale, which consisted of these town allotments, occurred at Melbourne in June 1837. The government required payment in gold, and few were provided with the requisite description of value. The fortunate purchasers obtained such lots as were then sold at a rate varying from £30 to £100 per half acre. After an interval of little more than two years, the value of each of these small areas of the green sod had ascended to thousands of pounds. At a sale by auction that occurred in 1839, which is still referred to with a sigh by the early colonist as the time of happy faces and general money-making, three half acre sections realized the enormous sum of £10,250; and the purchaser, it was said, had found this extravagant investment to be also remunerative by means of the magic process of carving out his sections in fragments suitable to the wants and abilities of the crowd of buyers.* Many parties were induced thus to speculate in land; and it must be admitted that the continued advance in the estimated value of this kind of property was a temptation difficult to be withstood, and a short and easy road to fortune. Numbers of the purchasers sold out with enormous profit, and again plunged, with their enlarged means, into investments which had already proved so advantageous.

The settlement had been founded, and for a short

* One piece of this ground was sold at the rate of thirty-five guineas a-foot of frontage to one of the principal streets.

period at first continued to be peopled chiefly by immigration from Van Diemen's Land. But attention was soon excited in a wider field; and Sydney poured forth her adventurers and her capital to participate in the profitable traffic going on at Port Phillip. Two Anglo-Australian banks, previously in operation in Sydney, promptly established branches in a town of such increasing importance, and in the general prosperity of the times found an ample investment for their large paid up capital,* in discounting the numerous bills that were created by the buying and selling propensities of the settlers.

As every occupation appeared to prosper,—as every purchaser resold at his convenience with a profit, and the measure of a man's means appeared in a direct ratio with the extent of his speculations, it was impossible to deny mutual credit and accommodation, which accordingly prevailed to the most unbounded extent. Transactions enlarged and multiplied; and a legion of lawyers was unremittingly engaged in the equally lucrative employment of framing conveyances and unravelling titles for the patches and fractions of land that were incessantly pushed into the market, involved in confusion by the tardy emanation of the crown grant, the operation of the law of dower,† or the haste and

* The Bank of Australasia and Union Bank of Australia have each a paid up capital of nearly a million sterling.

† This has since been altered, but the titles of much property are still involved from the want of proper attention formerly to the legal claims of a wife to a certain interest in the landed property that her husband may be possessed of during the marriage.

negligence of the speculators. The sale of town allotments commenced on 1st June 1837,—that of "country and suburban sections" on 12th September of the following year. From these respective dates to the end of 1841 there had been sold by government, chiefly by public auction, in the space of between four and five years, 205,748 acres of land, realizing no less a sum than £394,353.*

But the spirit of speculation was not confined to transactions in land. Every description of colonial property found a ready market; and sheep, cattle, and horses, in particular, rose to unwonted prices. In 1839 good descriptions of sheep were frequently sold for £3 each,† cattle for £12 or £15, and ordinary saddle horses for upwards of £100. The fluctuations to which these articles of colonial property are liable may be exhibited in the fact that only four years afterwards,

* The following is an abstract of the particulars:—

	Acres.	Amount.	Average per acre.
Town allotments, by auction, 1st June 1837 to 1st Dec. 1841, (649)	324½	£108,177 2 0	£ 333:7:4
Country and suburban lands, by auction, 12th Sept. 1838 to 15th Oct. 1840	105,774	231,256 9 8	1:10:8
Lands taken at uniform price of 20s. per acre	18,810	18,810 0 0	1: 0:0
Seven special surveys, each of 5120 acres or eight square miles	35,840	35,840 0 0	1: 0:0

† One sale that I heard of, comprising above 4000, with a station in the Sydney District, was at the rate of £3, 10s. each, and the purchase-money, amounting to £15,000, was secured on the stock for ten years, with interest at the rate of ten per cent. per annum!

namely in 1843, the same descriptions and quality of live stock were repeatedly sold at the prices of 3s. 6d., 25s., and £12, respectively. In the Sydney District, where the depression in some articles appears to have been still greater than at Melbourne, several capitalists, who came opportunely into the field, bought up great numbers of sheep at 1s. 6d. per head, and it is said even so low as 9d.; cattle were sold at 11s. each, and horses in some instances for very little more.

The price of provisions was enormous. This was caused partly by a severe drought in the Sydney District in the three years 1837-9, which had repeatedly destroyed most of the crops, and occasioned the death of large numbers of the live stock, and partly from an increased influx of population to these colonies, which was taking place about this time from the mother country. But perhaps to a greater extent than either we must attribute these high prices to the usual effects of a speculative spirit, arising from the abundance of available means introduced into the colony, which greatly diminished for a time the exchangeable value of money. The price of flour in the new settlements of Port Phillip and Adelaide rose to £80 and even £100 a-ton of 2000 pounds weight, and the common four pound loaf was sold for three shillings and sixpence.

Labour is usually scarce and dear in Australia, owing to the distance of her settlements from the great reservoir of the mother country. The receipts of the labourer were in full proportion to the apparent circumstances of his employers. Ten shillings a-day was

no unusual remuneration for the common descriptions of employment, and mechanics of the more skilful class had even higher wages. The cost of building and the rents of houses were therefore beyond all reasonable expectation. Cottages of four rooms, with very moderate pretensions to appearance or accommodation, were let at an annual rent of £150 to £200. Such exorbitant charges, together with the cost of provisions and the high price of land, astonished and confounded the inpouring emigrants from Britain, who found they had left a land of comparative plenty and frugality, in exchange for one of the most expensive living and general extravagance.

The attention of Van Diemen's Land and Sydney to the rising settlement of Port Phillip, was speedily followed by that of the British public. The tide of emigration, however, was distracted by the rival claims of the new colony of South Australia, whose commencement, about that period, was almost exactly contemporaneous, and her career of speculation and extravagance somewhat similar to that of her eastern neighbour. Sir Thomas Mitchell, the surveyor-general of New South Wales, in his third expedition of discovery to the interior of South-eastern Australia in 1836, had traversed some of the finest parts of the southern district of the colony; and the glowing terms in which he described the green pastures and beautiful scenery of Australia Felix, led to an emigration from Britain of many individuals of the upper classes of society, whose considerable capital, imported into the settlement, served to increase

and maintain the extravagance of the reigning ideas regarding the value of colonial property.

The high prices obtained for imported merchandise had the usual effect upon the shippers in Britain and elsewhere, of inducing them to enlarge the supply. The markets were repeatedly filled; but the enormous rate of consumption, and the liberal system of credit, took off the successive importations. The ports of the Australian colonies were crowded with British shipping, continually pouring into the busy markets the various articles of commerce. In the noble harbour of Sydney, there was the imposing and animated scene of a hundred merchant vessels simultaneously engaged in loading or discharging cargo; and even the port of Melbourne, towards the end of 1839, between two and three years after its foundation, exhibited the extraordinary spectacle of thirty vessels, from various British dominions, lying together at anchor at the head of the bay.

The commercial transactions at Port Phillip are not officially recorded until the year 1837, when a custom-house had been established at Melbourne. During that year the importation of sheep from Van Diemen's Land amounted to 55,208, and for the four years ending with 1840 the total number imported amounted to about 102,500 head, together with 1800 horses and a small number of horned cattle. Importation both of sheep and cattle ceased during the latter year. The richness of the Port Phillip pastures quickly acquired for the new province a supremacy in pastoral produce. So early as 1839, the tables were turned with the Van

Diemen's Land colonists. The fat stock of Australia Felix began regularly to enter their markets, and were shortly afterwards despatched, in occasional ventures, to the remoter locations of Sydney, New Zealand, South Australia, and the Swan River.

The wants of the new settlement were at first supplied by importation from Sydney and Van Diemen's Land. The barque Midlothian, which arrived from Leith in 1839, was the first merchantman that entered the harbour of Port Phillip direct from a British port. In the two local journals that flourished in Melbourne at that early date of its history, this vessel is reported, in official phraseology, as having "entered inwards" on 15th June of that year. The importations of British goods into Melbourne from Sydney have been very considerable until within the last five years, when they at length became almost entirely of a direct character from the various producing countries that traded with Australia. The former are not officially reported, as both ports are included within the colony of New South Wales. In 1837, the value of imports, exclusive of those supplied from Sydney, amounted to £108,939, and in 1840, to no less than £392,026. Large supplies of flour, grain, timber, and other necessaries, long continued to be imported from Van Diemen's Land, and are still, though on a reduced scale, introduced into the Port Phillip District. Horses also are still imported both from Van Diemen's Land and Sydney, and wheat and flour have of late occasionally arrived from South Australia.

The exports of a colony are the test of its capability of progress. The limited scale of every article of produce created only for a home market, long cramps the energies of a commencing settlement. The adaptation of the Port Phillip territory for the pasturage of sheep and cattle has extended the pastoral interest with unprecedented rapidity, while the ample market of Britain has readily absorbed the extensive and increasing produce of the Australian wool. The earliest official record of the exports appears for the year 1837, when they amounted in value to £12,180, and the quantity of wool exported for that year to 175,081 pounds weight. In 1840, the value of exports was £154,650, and the annual quantity of wool had increased to nearly one million pounds weight. For the present year, 1847, the exports may be valued at upwards of £500,000, and the clip of wool for the same period at about nine millions of pounds weight.*

* In this estimate for 1847, I have allowed for shipments of produce made by way of Sydney, which as sent to a port within the colony do not appear as exports from Port Phillip in the customs' return. The reader will find various statistics of Australia Felix, and of the colony of New South Wales, in the Appendix. For some of the earlier accounts I am indebted to Mr Kerr's Melbourne Almanac for 1842.

CHAPTER XIII.

COMMERCIAL REACTION, AND DIFFICULTIES OF THE AUSTRALIAN COLONIES.

Symptoms of a Commercial Reaction—High Rates of Interest for Money—Wealth and Splendour of the Australian Colonies in 1840—Subsequent gradual Decline—Extraordinary Extent of the Depression—Number of Insolvencies in 1842-4, and Losses of Banks and Loan Companies—Inquiries into the Causes of the Crisis; Select Committee of Council—Estimate of the principal Cause—Revival of the Colonies—Benefits arising from the late speculative Mania—Rapid Extension of New South Wales.

The new and promising field opened up by the colonization of Port Phillip, South Australia, and New Zealand, had stimulated the spirit of commercial enterprise and speculation throughout the elder settlements of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land. The attention gradually excited in the mother country towards this remote region of her empire, had occasioned the transmission of large capital, and maintained a stream of emigration from the crowded ranks of her society. Many thousands had been added to the colonial population, and the sudden and extensive increase of demand for the necessaries of life had placed the various producing interests upon an enlarged basis, attended with extra-

ordinary remuneration. The colonial farmers launched out into corresponding expenses, and liberally borrowed for the purpose of improving their properties. But these were temporary circumstances. Wealth cannot be created by merely sanguine anticipations, or transactions entered into under mistaken views of the future. The progressive rise in the prices, which had hitherto for several years been the means of creating fortunes for numerous colonists, began to halt as regarded most descriptions of property about the year 1840. The heavy stocks of imported merchandise lingered on hand; an immense accumulation of bills, promissory notes, and other forms and aspects of debt, was at this time afloat; and a few solitary individuals began here and there to emerge from the multitude, declaring their want of the usual luck, and their inability to meet their engagements. But as yet little impression had been made on the phalanx of wealth and splendour that had developed itself in the colonies.

The capital which still continued to flow into Australia maintained for some period a species of waning splendour, and graduated the force of the coming crisis. In 1840 and 1841, several Anglo-Australian loan companies were established in Sydney; capital was occasionally transmitted from India; and loans at rates of interest varying from 10 to 12½ per cent. per annum, and frequently much higher, were extensively effected both by public bodies and private individuals.* The rate charged by

* Many loans between private parties were effected in Port Phillip at the rate of 20 per cent. per annum, upon security that

the local banks for discounting bills of 3 months' currency was so high as 10 per cent. per annum, with 2 per cent. additional for bills of longer date and for overdrawn accounts. Such extravagant rates of discount were not considered high in these days of speculation; and those whose "names" were passed with facility through the ordeal of the "bank parlour," were considered to command, on favourable terms, the means of acquiring wealth. These gilded views of the profits of colonial business have not secured a lengthened existence. In the beginning of 1843, the rate of discount was reduced in Sydney to 8 per cent. upon bills not exceeding 100 days' currency; and this charge was still farther diminished in the following year to 6 per cent.,—a rate which now prevails throughout these colonies. The present rate of interest on mortgage varies from 6 to 8 per cent.; higher rates cannot be obtained where undoubted security is required.

About the period alluded to, when the value of property had attained to its highest estimate, these colonies exhibited an aspect of extraordinary wealth and activity. Large mansions and beautiful estates were dotted over the surface of Van Diemen's Land and the Sydney District; and Port Phillip and South Australia strove to emulate the aristocratic magnificence of their elder neighbours. The city of Sydney, containing at that time nearly 30,000 inhabitants, was crowded with spacious warehouses, and adorned with many hand-

appeared at the time to be undoubted; and both there and in Sydney bills were privately discounted at still higher rates.

some edifices. Her streets resounded with the din of commerce, the tramp of horses, and the rolling of numerous and elegant private carriages. As it is, the suburbs were tastefully laid out with villas and gardens stretching along the rocky ridges of the coves and promontories of the southern shore, where the labours of art were finely contrasted, in picturesque and fanciful scenery, with the blue waters of the harbour and the cloudless sky.

The year 1841 ushered in a period of decline. Capital still poured into the colonies; but it failed to support prices at the extravagant height to which they had attained. A great increase took place in the number of mercantile failures; and as most parties were more or less connected with each other by the extensive system of credit that had prevailed, each successive insolvency dealt a blow on every side, and exploded a portion of the estimated means of the community. Property began to be forced into the market; and those who were still enabled to retain their possessions, generally borrowed or mortgaged to the utmost extent, either to facilitate their commercial operations, or to complete some series of improvements that had been begun during more propitious times.

After a depression already so protracted, a better state of business was continually looked for. But the succeeding year, 1842, introduced a much worse aspect of affairs. Many extensive merchants and large proprietors beheld the ample substance they were once possessed of gradually disappear with the reduced value

of their land, live stock, and other property, and the continual recurrence of loss arising from bad debts contracted in the course of their business. During this year, a new insolvent law came into operation in New South Wales, framed for the better security and distribution of property among creditors, and facilitating the discharge of the debtor when he had yielded up all his effects. Incredible numbers of individuals availed themselves of its benefits. From February 1842 to the end of 1844, there occurred in Sydney 1356, in Melbourne 282, cases of sequestration under this new act; making a total for the colony of New South Wales, within a period of less than three years, of 1638 sequestrated estates, whose collective debts amounted to no less than three millions and a half sterling. The whole population of the colony during this period averaged only about 162,000 persons. Nothing can illustrate more forcibly than this result the ruinous extent to which speculation had been carried, and the inroads which the general extravagance of the colonists had made upon their own and their borrowed capital.*

* The following is a tabular view of the number of insolvencies recorded at Sydney and Melbourne in the three years 1842-4:

	1842.	1843.	1844.	Totals.
Sydney,.....	600	535	221	1356
Melbourne,.....	113	124	45	282
New South Wales,...	713	659	266	1638

The assets pertaining to these estates were scarcely more than nominal. After 1844, these numbers became much reduced, and so sad a state of affairs has now happily all but disappeared.

Some idea may thus be formed of the deep and widespread distress that prevailed throughout New South Wales during 1843 and the greater part of the following year. The losses in business, and the depreciation of property, which had proceeded to an extent altogether unlooked for, at length undermined many of the principal merchants and landed proprietors both in New South Wales and the adjacent colonies, who, gradually bereft of their property, eventually found themselves involved in debt. Long established houses, enterprising colonists, names intimately associated with the early history and recent splendour of the colony, became hampered in their affairs, or fell indiscriminately with the general crowd; and many years of labour and care were thus suddenly terminated in ruin. A perceptible gloom overspread the population, on the occasion of so general a distress and so melancholy a revolution of fortune.*

Mutual credit and confidence were for a time nearly at an end, and commercial operations were restricted to a very narrow channel. The banks and other monetary companies were the principal sufferers, and were long afterwards engaged in an arduous struggle to extricate their capital from the scene of confusion that prevailed around them. In 1841, the amount of money advanced

* Most of the private carriages in Sydney were given up, either from necessity or a sense of propriety on the part of their owners, and there being few purchasers in the market, they were usually bought for a small amount to serve as hackney conveyances.

to the colonists by the Anglo-Australian and Sydney Banks, chiefly on bills and promissory notes, was £2,582,203; in 1844, it was reduced to £1,583,137,* and a large proportion of this amount consisted of old claims which could not be immediately settled, and were periodically renewed by the Banks to their embarrassed debtors.†

Various views were taken by the colonists of so remarkable a commercial revulsion; and expedients were suggested with the view of arresting its progress, and restoring the prosperity of past days, which still floated with a hopeful reminiscence before the eyes of the community. The matter was considered as of a sufficiently objective character to demand the special attention of the colonial legislature; and a select committee was appointed to take evidence, and draw up a report. But, as usually happens in what relates to such intricate subjects, there were various shades and differences of opinion: the witnesses were by no means agreed in their testimony; the committee had its own views, and reported accordingly; and the inquiry, as was most fitting in such circumstances, resulted in nothing.‡

* From the sworn returns of the banks, published by government.

† According to evidence given to the Committee of Council on the "Monetary Confusion," which sat about the end of 1843, it appeared that on an average two-thirds or upwards of these engagements were in this manner renewed by the banks at that time.

‡ The committee appear to have mistaken the effect for the cause, in their views of the contracted circulation of bank notes

Appearances are often deceptive, in our endeavour to account for such occurrences. The incessant industry which a time of speculation presents to our view, mixed up almost indiscriminately with employments of evident and unquestionable advantage, has the effect of giving a legitimate aspect to the general picture. But a great proportion of such industry is created from mere accidental and temporary circumstances; and the mass of speculators in colonial property, many of whom commenced their operations altogether destitute of means, might, with equal propriety, as far as regarded the results in a commercial point of view, have at once launched out into the general extravagance which characterized the times, dissipating either their own capital or that of others, without any exertion whatever in the department of buying and selling, which tended merely to create additional expense in the charges of lawyers, auctioneers, and mercantile agents. Sanguine hopes and expectations proved eventually to be more efficient to expend than to create means. The valuation of property was found to be temporary, the profits to have

and other currency. In general the causes assigned, though admissible to a certain extent, were quite inadequate to explain the *extent* of the depression. For example, the fall in the price of wool in the British market was strongly commented on. This continued until the middle or end of the year 1843, and undoubtedly had its effect in depressing, as the subsequent rallying of the market contributed in restoring, the colony; but this fall in the price of the Australian staple had begun in 1837, and steadily continued throughout all the extravagant prosperity of the colonists.

been imaginary; but the extravagance of the period was a real and irrevocable item of the account.*

Time is a notable physician, and at length delivered the distressed colonists. The debts which could not be paid were wiped off at the Insolvent Court, and the course was again made clear for a more profitable and substantial industry. The rapid extension of the pastoral interests furnished a constant demand for the services of the labourer. The harvests were plentiful, and the necessaries of life, even in the most depressed times, were distributed in a profuse abundance to all ranks and classes of the community. When the sheep and cattle of the colony had become all but utterly valueless in the market, and many thousands had been sold for little more than the worth of the wool or the hides that covered them, the expedient was happily suggested of rendering the carcass into tallow; and so successful has been the result, that the process of the melting-pot has since been regarded as a species of safety-valve against the recurrence in future of a similar commercial catastrophe. The depression of the British market, so remarkable towards the end of 1842 and beginning of

* The late governor, Sir George Gipps, in one of his despatches, significantly intimates, with relation to the state of the times, that the neighbourhood of Melbourne was said to be strewed over with empty champagne-bottles. This wine was largely consumed, and for a long period a "champagne lunch" was quite indispensable to an auction sale of any pretensions. There is a well known story of two bullock-drivers, who, at a country public-house on their way to town, called for a dozen of champagne, which they first emptied from the bottles into a bucket, and then deliberately drank off from their tin pannikens.

1843, at length passed away; and the price of wool, which had fallen there with that of other commodities, was once again on the advance. The vast sums that were derived from the land-sales had been expended, in accordance with regulations on this head, in the promotion of bounty emigration from the mother country to the colony, and had introduced a copious supply of labouring population. The mania, as the governor remarked, was not without its usefulness. The debts were those merely of one individual to another, and not of the colony collectively; and in exchange for the crown lands that were sold, an addition of 50,000 souls had been made to the colonial population.*

These commercial crises, as they are termed, appear to be the appointed mode of relief from a plethoric state of the general market, which would probably, but for some such check, produce, in general, results still more detrimental to society at large; and although it is not desirable, nor indeed usual, to see such sudden and violent changes in the social relations as those just described, yet such must be the occasional lot of a young and still limited colony, situated at a remote distance from its sources of supply, and therefore exposed to irregularities in its commercial transactions. This liability to extremes will be gradually diminished, as the field of enterprise and investment becomes more extended by the increase of the population and resources of the colony.†

* Despatch to Lord Stanley, 17th January 1844. A comfortable argument to all but the individual sufferers.

† A crisis somewhat similar to the last was occasioned in New

In other respects the interval of speculation and its succeeding distresses was not a lost time to the colony. A large section of her settlers had gradually overspread the unoccupied surface of the interior country, where the ample pasturage and the genial climate increased to an incredible extent the numbers of their flocks and herds. Each additional individual to this scattered country population successively extended the outposts of the settlement, as he poured his live stock over the empty plains, and hastened to secure for himself a suitable and accessible portion of the country still open to his choice. In the beginning of 1844, the colony contained upwards of five millions of sheep, including 1,600,000 in Australia Felix, one million of horned cattle, and sixty thousand horses.* All the extensive tracts of the varied surface of Australia Felix, for 150 miles north and upwards of 200 miles west of the harbour of Port Phillip, had been explored and occupied; and even the green pastures of Gipps' Land, at the eastern extremity of the district, made known only three years previously by the exertions of Strzelecki,

South Wales about fifteen years previously, by the operations of the "Australian Agricultural Company," which was established in Britain in 1825, with one million pounds sterling of capital. A grant of 1,000,000 acres of land was made to the company, which commenced business in the colony in 1826. The demand thus occasioned for sheep, horses, and cattle, and the large influx of capital to the colony, gave rise to an extraordinary excitement, which gradually proceeded to a degree wholly unusual and unexpected, and ultimately terminated in a general and wide-spread ruin. Lang, vol. i. p. 243.

* The official returns from which these numbers are taken always exclude the young unweaned stock.

were already overrun with cattle, whose rapid increase and thriving condition formed the basis of an export traffic. In the Sydney District, the pastoral stations stretched to the north beyond Moreton Bay, and towards the western interior verging on the remote waters of the Darling. The lapse of three additional years has exhibited still greater advances in a steady and continuous march. There are now upwards of a million and a half of cattle, and the sheep have increased to eight millions, of which three millions are depastured over Australia Felix. The swelling tide, crossing the bed of the Darling, now spreads over a promising country stretching far towards the west and north. Throughout the extensive tract to the north and north-west of the Grampians, enclosed by a great bend of the Murray, the search of the adventurous settler, in a country generally poor and extensively covered with scrub, is still occasionally rewarded by the discovery of portions of open and available pasture-land. The smaller tracts that yet remain unoccupied in other directions have been sought over the glens and forests of the mountain scenery; the clear patches of grass are greedily seized among the swamps and scrubs of the level country; and the colonists, crossing their boundary of the Murray, are spreading themselves over the adjacent interior to the westward of the lower course of the Darling

CHAPTER XIV.

PROGRESS OF POPULATION, COMMERCIAL INTERCOURSE, AND GENERAL IMPROVEMENT.

Population of the District—Towns and Villages—History of Melbourne; Progress in Extent and Appearance, and in Commercial and other Institutions—Geelong—Post Lines, and Modes of Conveyance—Steam Navigation—Projected Railways—Lighthouses in Bass's Straits—Wreck of the Cataraque—Steam Communication with Britain—Colonial Postage System.

A GENERAL census of the population of the Australian colonies is taken every five years. The history of the Port Phillip settlement embraces the three last of these occasions. In 1836, the population, exclusive of aborigines, amounted to 224 persons; in 1841, to 11,738; and in 1846, to 32,879. The demand for pastoral labour has latterly occasioned the influx of a large number of persons from Van Diemen's Land, chiefly of the convict class, who have either partially or wholly recovered their freedom by servitude. The population may now therefore be estimated at upwards of 35,000 colonists, independently of the aboriginal natives.

Besides the four different towns which have been already mentioned as founded by government, namely,

Melbourne, North and South Geelong, Williamstown, and Portland, seven other towns or villages of private origin are distinguished in the census returns as belonging to the Port Phillip District, namely, Brighton, Brunswick, and Richmond, in the county of Bourke; Ashby, Irishtown, and Newtown, in the county of Grant; and Belfast at Port Fairy in the county of Normanby. Alberton, Seymour, Violet, and several others have made a commencement, and the government have recently projected a township at Warnambool Bay to the eastward of Port Fairy, immediately adjoining the mouth of the Hopkins. Numerous "village reserves" have been marked out during the excursions of the official surveyors, but few of these localities are likely to be farther noticed by the colonial authorities. The total urban population appears by the census of 2d March last year to have been 15,041, that of the country, 17,838; forming together the total population of 32,879.

Melbourne, the capital town of the province, contains by far the largest proportion of the urban population. On the occasion of the last census, the number of inhabitants amounted to 10,954, or one-third of that of the entire district, and it is now probably above 12,000. The progress of Melbourne has hitherto been rapid almost beyond example. To what extent this progress will continue it is difficult to conjecture. In colonies like those of Australia, which are maintained chiefly by external commerce, there is a tendency towards concentration in that particular port to which the importation of supplies is directed. Sydney, Melbourne, and Ade-

laide have each acquired this preponderating importance in their respective territories, and these towns appear to increase their population in a somewhat regular proportion with that of the surrounding country. Sydney with its suburbs already contains nearly 50,000 inhabitants, and Adelaide about 8000; both towns comprising, as in the case of Melbourne, about one-third of the population of the respective countries to which they minister as the centres of import and export agency.

The first house upon the site of Melbourne was erected in November 1835. Three years afterwards, there had been three temporary structures raised in the town for religious worship, respectively occupied by the Episcopalians, the Presbyterians, and the Independents, and capable of accommodating altogether about 300 persons. But this appears to have been far short of the wants of the population. In 1839, Mr La Trobe was appointed, under the title of superintendent, as the organ of government in the Port Phillip District, and arrived from Sydney on the 30th September of that year. From a complimentary address to his Honour, presented by the Union Benefit Society early in the following month, it appears that Melbourne contained at that period, not quite four years after its earliest commencement, five places of worship, including those of the Roman Catholics and Wesleyans, then recently established, and 358 houses, of which 136 were wooden constructions, and 222 were built of brick.* The

* Port Phillip Patriot of 10th October 1839. I am indebted

population amounted to about 2000, and in so limited a community two printing offices had been already established. There were now church sittings for 1000 persons, and several schools had been opened in connexion with the respective churches, including four Sunday schools, where about 200 children received instruction.

In the beginning of 1840, a third newspaper made its appearance. The earliest of these periodicals, the Melbourne Advertiser, which afterwards assumed the prefatory title of the Port Phillip Patriot, made its appearance in January 1838; the Port Phillip Gazette was established in October of the same year; and in January 1840 the third came into existence under the title of the Port Phillip Herald. A semi-weekly publication on the part of each of these several newspapers afforded to the colonial public the regular variety of a morning journal. A fourth paper was afterwards published, and a fifth has occasionally contended for a precarious and temporary existence. The three earliest publications have always maintained their ground. The others have encountered more chequered fortunes; but a fourth paper has finally emerged from the field of contest, and taken up a permanent station under the denomination of the Melbourne Argus.

In 1840, a circulating library had been established in Melbourne, and was supplied with British papers and periodicals; and in October of the previous year, a native institution, the Port Phillip Bank, was commenced,

to Mr Fawkner for some of these early newspapers, which are interesting documents to all Port Phillip colonists.

in addition to the Melbourne branches of two Anglo-Australian Companies already in operation. Various other associations, of a commercial, philanthropical, or religious character, were afterwards established in rapid succession, and supported with spirit and liberality. But the premature ambition of the population has since received a check. Money, the substantial basis of support to almost every undertaking, flowed forth with a tardy step during the commercial depression that overtook the busy colonists; and as science and merit in this lower sphere are proverbially clouded with difficulties, it was not inappropriate that a mechanics' institution, several churches, and other useful works, should have emerged from the ordeal encumbered with considerable debt.

The site of Melbourne is in some respects well chosen. At no lower position on the banks of the Yarra could fresh water have been obtained for the use of the inhabitants, and the town, chiefly constructed upon two gently sloping eminences, is conveniently laid out upon ground which affords in general a sufficient fall for drainage. But the neighbourhood of the town was in some parts of a swampy character, and a small salt-water lake or marsh near the western extremity was said to be of an unhealthy character. In the summer and autumn of 1840 and 1841, many deaths occurred in Melbourne, chiefly from a species of low fever of a novel description, which at first perplexed the physicians of the town, who differed materially in their mode of treatment. Since this period, however, Melbourne has proved much more healthy, and this form of complaint

has not reappeared. Several temporary circumstances probably occasioned its introduction. Great heat and moisture had been experienced towards the end of that particular summer, and the rapid influx of emigrants from Britain had crowded, in an unwholesome manner, the inns and lodging houses throughout the town. Brackish water had also been frequently made use of by the inhabitants, through inattention in drawing off supplies from the river during the period of high tide, before the construction of the present dam, which has now effectually preserved the freshness of the stream. A number of cases of dysentery appear to have resulted from this cause.

Improvements are now being gradually effected under the united superintendence both of the municipal and colonial governments. The Melbourne town council, ushered into existence in November 1842, commenced its operations during a period of general depression and commercial difficulty. In one respect its members entered upon an untrodden field; but in a more material sense of these terms the case was altogether otherwise; for the streets and byways of the little city, hitherto abandoned to their own natural strength and resources, presented a most appalling spectacle, from the operation of the weather and the ceaseless traffic of ponderous bullock drays. Deep ruts and vast reservoirs of mud were variegated by the intersecting gullies of temporary watercourses; and nature, in the uniformity of her operations, was rapidly extending to the town the rural benefits of the "waterholes." Many an anxious wife

and mother scanned the deep abyss of the urban excavations in search of a drunken husband or a wayward child. These were not circumstances calculated to realize to the new civic dignitaries of Melbourne the proverbial repose and turtle associations of aldermanic life.*

The thick gum-tree stumps were long an eyesore in the streets of the rising metropolis, and the occasion of frequent accidents to its inhabitants. The arrival of the superintendent in 1839 was the occasion of a petition that, *inter alia*, these obnoxious remnants might be removed; but it was not until 1843 that this was finally accomplished by order of the town council, and these lingering vestiges of pristine barbarism literally rooted out from the community. After this essential preliminary, the improvement of the streets has been rapidly progressive. Habit and more prosperous times have reconciled the citizens to the payment of the rates, and the erection of a town hall is already more than whispered by the municipal dignitaries. Municipal institutions were simultaneously conferred upon Sydney and Adelaide. In the former they have proved successful; but the strenuous opposition they encountered

* A story is told regarding the streets of Launceston in more ancient days, which, thanks to convict labour, are now in very commendable order. A passenger meandering along the very indistinct outline of a footpath, perceived a hat a little to one side of his way lying in the mud. On lifting it up there appeared to be a head beneath, which now plainly emerged from the miry surface. A helping hand was promptly tendered, but the offer was met by a shake of the head, accompanied by an intimation hat more assistance was indispensable, as there was a horse also in the case, occupying a still lower area.

in Adelaide led to their speedy discontinuance. The recently developed resources of South Australia will now probably occasion an early resumption of municipal institutions in her capital.

The population of a young colony does not leap at once into the various comforts and accomplishments of modern civilized life. The earlier residents in the town of Melbourne were by no means nice in regard to their domestic accommodations. Numbers were content for a period to squat upon the grass under cover of tarpaulings. Many of these light and airy mansions were planted along the southern bank of the Yarra, and the waving canopies of the "dwellers in tents" afforded a novel spectacle to the in-pouring immigrants. The hut of the labourer was usually formed of plaited twigs or young branches, plastered over with mud, and known by the summary definition of "wattle and dab." This description of edifice commended itself to extensive patronage in these early times, from the facility with which the needy and impatient colonist was thus enabled to rear for himself a mansion, and retreat beneath a more social roof than the common covering of the heavens. A timber mansion was a stage above common; and a brick or stone edifice was restricted to the soaring spirits of the day, whose views and sentiments and prospects were based on a scale of corresponding magnificence.

But every year brought improvement, and every week or every day witnessed the striking of a tent, or the demolition of a wattle and dab, to make way for some more substantial fabric. In later times even the

wooden houses are rapidly disappearing, and are being replaced by edifices of stone and brick. Statistical facts bring all merits of this description to their proper standard; and, accordingly, the following are the material components of the town of Melbourne as exhibited by the census returns for March 1846: Out of a total of 2334 houses, 1376 were constructed of stone or brick, and 958 of wood; 64 of these houses were covered with slates, 2223 with shingles, and a small remnant with bark or thatch. The assessed annual value of the town for 1st January 1845 amounted to £47,343,14s.; it may now be estimated at nearly £70,000.

Several of the public and private edifices already exhibit pretensions to elegance and magnitude. The branch of the Union Bank of Australia, the Mechanics' Institution, the Roman Catholic church, and several other public structures, are creditable to the town. The new government offices are a neat construction of granite, placed on a commanding eminence in the western quarter of the town. On an adjacent slope in the outskirts towards the north stands the court house, attended by its gloomy handmaid the gaol, constructed of dark ferruginous sandstone, a monotonous, dismal-looking pile, whose only attractive feature consists in the security with which it evidently retains its inmates. A bridge of elegant and massive proportions, consisting of a single arch, is now in course of construction over the Yarra, under the superintendence of Mr Lennox. The townspeople may now perhaps regret that the low ground or hollow between the two hills which form the

site of Melbourne had not been reserved as a common or pleasure ground for the use of the public, with its primitive grassy carpet and its venerable gum-trees. This space is inconveniently low and horizontal for sewerage, and is the bed of a casual but troublesome little torrent, which rises immediately behind the town after considerable falls of rain, and sweeps its waters into the river through the medium of the principal street. The public cemetery is placed towards the north; but the rapid extension of the town is already bringing the mansions of the living into a too close proximity with those of the dead. A botanic garden was commenced in 1846, under the support of a grant from the legislature to the extent of £500 voted during the preceding year, in connexion with a prospective annual allowance of about half that amount. The site of the garden is about a mile from Melbourne towards the east, and skirts the south bank of the Yarra.

Geelong, the second town of the district, contains, with the suburbs in its immediate vicinity, a population exceeding 2000 souls. The surrounding country, admired alike for the beauty of its scenery and the richness of its soil, promises to become at an early period the chief agricultural district of Australia Felix. The entrance to the fine harbour of Corio is intercepted by a bar having but nine feet of water at flood tide;* so that the vessels which are annually charged with

* By the Melbourne papers of May last (1847), I perceive a correspondence between Dr Thomson for the inhabitants of Geelong, and the superintendent, with the view of removing this bar.

the large quantities of wool now exported from Geelong are necessitated to bring up on the outside of Point Henry, about seven miles distant from the port. Originally selected as the capital town, Melbourne seems now to have permanently acquired the precedence in size and importance; but its advantages on the whole are inferior to those of Geelong, whose beautiful and commodious haven could have been easily rendered accessible to the larger class of shipping. Several good warehouses have been erected in the town, and the neighbourhood is adorned with cottages and gardens. The principal inn has just been completed on a scale of unwonted magnificence, and is said to be a superior edifice to any other of the kind in New South Wales, and probably in the Australian colonies. It is still distinguished as Mack's Hotel, from past associations in connexion with the name of the original occupant of the premises, who flourished under extensive patronage in a humbler structure of the early times, but has since retired from the ceasless bustle of this public life, to enjoy a silvan retreat within the beautiful district of Colac. The smaller towns of the province are not as yet conspicuous for their public structures. A jetty has been erected at Portland; and the proprietor of the town and port of Belfast contemplates extensive improvements to the harbour.

Several post lines have been established from Melbourne, the principal of which are those to Sydney and Portland, the former twice and the latter once each week, the mails being conveyed by a gig, which also

accommodates one or two passengers. The roads to these places, as well as various other tracts, throughout the country, are well defined to the traveller by the considerable traffic that prevails; but little or nothing has hitherto been accomplished in the way of improving and adapting nature, and carriage travelling is still very limited. A casual glimpse of an omnibus on a summer day, driving between Melbourne and some adjacent suburb, recalls to the colonist associations of home; but such ambitious attempts are not yet encouraged to any permanent continuance. The great means of locomotion in Australia is the horse, and that useful animal is in the possession of all who can afford the very moderate expense of such a luxury and convenience. The yielding softness of the natural roads of the interior enables the horse to perform very lengthened journeys. No spectacle of the kind is more exhilarating than that of the Australian traveller fully accoutred in the saddle, with his black and well used pipe, his spurs and his massive whip, and cantering leisurely over the grassy surface,—a finished picture of ease, independence, and unanxious enjoyment.

The advantages of steam navigation have for several years been enjoyed by the Port Phillip colonists. There are now three small steam-boats on the Yarra for the commerce of that river and the adjacent bay. Two of these vessels proceed regularly on alternate days to Geelong,—a passage of about six hours duration, for which the cabin fare is at present 10s. for each passenger. There is also a fine iron steamer, the

Shamrock, belonging to the Hunter's River Steam Navigation Company, which regularly plies on the Sydney line, and returns from Melbourne by way of Launceston, accomplishing the whole trip, by prompt management, twice during each month. Steam communication between Sydney and Melbourne was commenced so early as 1840, by means of a large vessel, the Clonmel, sent out from Britain for the purpose. But this steamer, on the occasion of her second or third trip, was unfortunately wrecked early in the following year upon the sands in the vicinity of Corner Inlet,—an accident, however, which led to the discovery of the promising harbour of Port Albert, where a company of Melbourne merchants shortly afterwards purchased a "special survey" of eight square miles of land, and founded the present settlement of Alberton. The Clonmel was succeeded the same year by the Sea Horse, a large and powerful steamer, opportunely introduced into the colony in connexion with the establishment of Messrs Boyd and Company. But this vessel was also unfortunate, two years afterwards, in striking upon the rocks off George Town, in the intricate navigation at the mouth of the Tamar. She was shortly succeeded by the vessel at present on the line, which is well adapted for the trade, and of so moderate a draft of water as to be able, during the flood tide, to pass the bars of the Yarra and proceed to the wharf at Melbourne.

New South Wales has enjoyed the advantages of steam communication for a period of more than sixteen

years. The honour of having first introduced this important agent into the colony belongs to Captain Biddulph and Mr Henry Gilbert Smith. The former arrived from Britain at Sydney on the 14th May 1831, with the steamer Sophia Jane, which commenced its colonial traffic on the 17th June following; the latter had then finished the Surprise, which commenced running on the 1st of that month.*

It can scarcely be a subject of surprise that a railway mania like that which pervaded the mother country during the years 1844 and 1845 should have in some measure communicated itself to Australia, and even to Australia Felix. The projected railway to the river Hume was a common subject of debate during last year, and the Geelong and Glenelg railway had gone through the preliminary of two public meetings, where the usual unanimity appears to have prevailed as to the safety and profit of the undertaking. In a thinly peopled pastoral country, the expensive construction of iron railways was not likely to prove remunerative. The colonists rested their hopes on their unbounded supplies of timber, and many estimates favourable to the cause were put forth in regard to the cost of wooden lines formed out of the hard and compact timber of the country. The Great Southern and Western Railway Company, for a line from Sydney to Goulburn, attained to the stage of a provisional management and a subscription for the purposes of a survey, which produced a report of a favourable character even for a

* Sydney Morning Herald of 11th April 1846.

railway of the usual construction. The Adelaide Railway Company, for a line of five miles between Adelaide and the port, is likely to carry out its object, and thus give to South Australia the honour of first introducing this important commercial and socia change. It is not probable that a railway of any considerable extent will answer in the hands of a private company, even under the cheapest mode of construction; but in the hands of government, or in other words at the public expense, and open to the public, such facilities of transport would benefit the country; and undoubtedly some such undertakings will erelong be called for to render more accessible the pastoral regions of the remote interior.

The proverbial dangers hitherto attending the navigation of Bass's Straits are about to be in a great measure removed by the construction of several lighthouses, which have been long required. A committee of the Legislative Council was appointed in September 1845, "to inquire into and report as to the best positions of lighthouses or beacons in Bass's Straits or on the coasts adjacent." The committee recommended the erection of four lighthouses on different positions; namely, one on the north end of King's Island, and a second on Cape Otway, for the purpose of clearly marking the western entrance; with a third on the island at the extreme point of Cape Howe, and a fourth on the highest point of Kent's Group, for the purpose of marking the eastern entrance to these straits. Mr Tyers has subsequently visited and examined Cape

Howe and its vicinity, and fixed the site of the proposed lighthouse upon the highest point of the small island of Gubo,—an elevation of 158 feet above the level of the sea. Cape Otway has also been inspected by Mr La Trobe, and a lighthouse on that promontory is now in course of erection.

The serious importance of these lighthouses was imperatively urged upon the attention of the colonial legislature by the previous occurrence of a calamity of the most awful and affecting character. The large emigrant ship Cataraque, which left Liverpool in April 1845 with a crew and passengers amounting to 423 persons, including 369 bounty emigrants, was totally wrecked upon the rocks off the western coast of King's Island on the 4th of August following. In relating this incident, it may be hoped, from the precautions now being taken, that so fearful a calamity will not again occur. Four hundred and fourteen human beings perished, and many of their lifeless bodies were dashed in pieces upon the rocks of this desolate and inhospitable coast. The captain, who had been unable for several days to obtain satisfactory observations, appears to have miscalculated his position as he drew near his destination, and the vessel was sailing before a fair and stiff breeze, when about four o'clock in the morning she struck upon the rocks. The sea thundered with terrific violence among the breakers, and dashed over the unfortunate ship. Upwards of 300 of the passengers were promptly assisted on deck; the remainder were drowned by the rapid ingress of the waters. Cold and terror-

stricken, many were now swept off from the deck, and the tardy dawn of a winter morning upon this scene of misery and devastation exhibited only about 200 individuals remaining alive. Numerous dead bodies were floating around the ship or hanging on the adjacent rocks. The stern of the vessel had been driven in by the force of the waves, and about four in the afternoon the hull parted in two, by which one-half of the struggling survivors were drowned. Those who remained were lashed for security to the fragment of the wreck; but numbers perished from exhaustion during the succeeding night, or sunk down and were drowned at the place where they were secured. Only thirty individuals witnessed the dawn of the second morning. Meanwhile the mate and three of the crew had contrived to reach the shore, which was only a few hundred yards distant. Five others now safely followed their example, and the last portion of the ship soon after disappeared. The nine survivors were introduced to a harrowing spectacle. The beach was covered with the mangled remains of their fellow-passengers, dashed about and torn upon the rocks by the violence of the waves. After a hasty and imperfect burial, the calls of hunger drove the living from the dead. On the succeeding morning a smoke was seen at some distance, and following its guidance, the shipwrecked wanderers arrived at the party of Mr David Howie, then residing upon the island, by whom they were kindly taken care of for several weeks, and eventually brought to Melbourne in a small cutter belonging to several gentlemen who happened,

while on a pleasure cruise from Port Phillip, to touch at the place.

The oft debated scheme of steam communication between England and Australia appears at length on the eve of being realized. The prosperity of the Oriental Steam Company now in operation has led to the formation of another company, with the view of extending the present Indian line by branch steamers from Ceylon or Singapore to Sydney. The transmission of letters, which by the present customary routes occupies about four months, would then, it is estimated, be accomplished in little more than half that time. The proposal of such a communication, so ardently sought after by the Australian colonists, has been promptly responded to on the part of the Sydney legislature, by the offer of a bounty, payable out of the colonial revenues, amounting to £500 per month, for the running of the mails by this expeditious route, independently of amounts derived from postage rates, or the contract money from the British government.* Contrary to the prevailing opinion that Port Essington would form the most convenient intermediate station between Singapore and Sydney, a competent authority has preferred the position of Cape York, both as a more healthy place of settlement than the former, and more centrally situated in regard to time of transmission, because the numerous

* Lieutenant Waghorn and Mr Montgomery Martin, names well known in connexion with our colonial interests, are identified with this new company.

rocks and shoals between Sydney and Cape York occasion considerable delay in that stage of the voyage. This proposed communication is also of prospective advantage in opening up the commerce of the Dutch settlements, where the antiquated barbarity of burning the surplus spice plants is still annually practised by the government for the purpose of maintaining prices.* The late interesting and successful operations of Mr Brooke towards the colonization of Borneo and the vast adjacent archipelago, opening up a new world for British commercial enterprise, give a character of high importance to all operations that facilitate our intercourse with the East.

The universal satisfaction occasioned at home by the late comprehensive change effected in the system of the inland postage, calls for a revision of the postal charges in connexion with our colonies. By way of an extension of the home system, an "ocean penny postage" has been frequently suggested. It has been found desirable, for the quicker and more regular transmission of mails, to encourage steam communication in certain principal directions, where the amount of traffic is not otherwise sufficiently profitable, by the temptation of a considerable bounty; and doubtless in these instances the benefit conferred upon the public should be paid for by some corresponding charge upon letters transmitted by such expensive channels. But such high

* See Mr J. Beete Jukes' letter in the Daily News of 10th September 1847. He points out a route among the islands by which the voyage might be accomplished independently of the periodical monsoon.

charges are unnecessary with respect to letters forwarded to the colonies and foreign parts by the usual opportunities, unattended by these extra expenses.*

Notwithstanding the benefits of a cheap and uniform rate of postage, the colonists themselves have not shown much disposition to progress with the times, or imitate the example of the mother country. The present colonial rates of postage are in most instances a direct prohibition to make use of various means of conveyance, which are maintained at great labour and expense. The overland postage to Portland, for example, is at the rate of 1s. for each single letter, and both the overland and steam conveyance to Sydney are chargeable in like manner with 1s. 3d. In 1845, a proposition was made in the legislature by Dr Lang, one of the members for the Port Phillip District, to reduce the colonial postage rates now chargeable throughout New South Wales to much lower and more uniform amounts, namely, 1d. each for letters under 4 oz. weight posted and delivered in the same town, and 2d. each for conveyance of single letters to or from any part of the

* From a late report of a committee of the House of Lords with relation to the post office, it appears that the postal revenue is heavily burdened by the excess of expenditure over receipts, occasioned by the large bounties given for forwarding the East and West India mails. The Committee suggest that these lines may be now found sufficiently profitable and self-supporting to the companies engaged with them, without this expensive allowance, and that in future it would be advisable on the part of government to yield up nothing to such companies beyond the actual receipts derived from the postage of the letters themselves, and gradually to reduce even this allowance as circumstances may warrant.

colony. The subject of revenue in this country has indeed, under improved views of social economics, formed but a secondary consideration in the arrangements of the post office. Nevertheless, on this exploded ground, a majority of the council rejected the proposed change. The present more favourable aspect of the colonial finances may now, however, induce the government, on some future opportunity, to consent to so beneficial an alteration.*

* At present, by the usual route of a letter to Port Phillip, it costs from 1s. 3d. to 2s. 6d. for each ½ oz. weight, namely, 1s. payable in advance in this country, and 3d. on arrival in the colony; or if by way of Sydney, 1s. 6d., being 1s. 3d. extra for overland postage. By Dr Lang's plan, in connexion with an ocean penny postage, as proposed, a single letter direct to Melbourne or Sydney would cost 3d. altogether, namely, 1d. in Britain, 1d. to the ship or officer taking charge of the letter, and 1d. for the town delivery in the colony. The uniformity desirable in our British colonial postage system is, that there shall be one low rate for letters transmitted by the usual and independent conveyances, and one special extra rate where letters are forwarded by mails requiring the special support of government.

CHAPTER XV.

COMPARATIVE VIEW OF THE ADJACENT COLONY OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

First Exploration of the Colony by Sturt in 1830—Established in 1834—Early History and Difficulties to 1842—Revival and Prosperity under Governor Grey—Description of the Country—Outstripped by the Pastoral Progress of the Port Phillip Settlement—New and promising Field in her Mineral Treasures—History of their Discovery—Their vast Abundance—Prospective Importance of both Settlements.

While the Van Diemen's Land settlers were engaged in colonizing the shores of Port Phillip, attention had also been directed in another quarter to the settlement of an adjacent portion of the great territory of Australia. The descent of the Murray by Captain Sturt in the year 1830, introduced him to the pastoral plains and diversified scenery of the tract of country situated between that noble river and the Gulf of St Vincent. The favourable description transmitted by the gallant and enterprising explorer of this new region excited an interest in the minds of various influential individuals in Britain to commence a system of colonization on a new plan, which has since acquired a various celebrity

under the denomination of the Wakefield system. The principal feature, and also that which is the least objectionable in this plan, is the application of the funds arising from the sale of the colonial lands to the introduction of a labouring population into the colony.

After some preliminary difficulty and delay, the colony of South Australia, the name that was given to the projected settlement, was constituted by act of parliament in the year 1834.* The management of its affairs was vested in the hands of a board of commissioners, who were authorized to borrow money for carrying on the colony, having the security of the colonial revenue. When the population had attained to 50,000 persons, a constitution was to be granted to the new colony.

Captain Hindmarsh, the first appointed governor of South Australia, reached his destination on the 28th December 1836. Colonel Light, the surveyor-general, had previously selected the site of the capital, and laid out the plan of the future city of Adelaide. The first body of emigrants had arrived in the preceding July, and the governor was met at his landing by an assemblage of two hundred colonists. After the lapse of a year, chequered with difficulties and dissatisfaction, Governor Hindmarsh received his recall.

The name of Governor Gawler is more familiar to the colonists in connexion with the early troubles and vicissitudes of South Australia. Colonel Gawler succeeded Captain Hindmarsh, and arrived at Adelaide in

* 4 and 5 William IV. cap. 95, 15th August.

1838. The reputation acquired by the settlement in Britain, and the exertions of its influential commissioners, now gave a surprising impetus to its progress. In August 1839, only three years after the arrival of the first colonists, there were 7412 settlers in South Australia, and the sold land, amounting to 250,320 acres, had realized the enormous sum of £229,756. But this extensive scale of transactions soon assumed an unhealthy character. A great influx of capital found as yet but a limited sphere for its investment, and occasioned a gambling speculation, which diverted for a period the means and industry of the colonists from their proper channels. In 1840, out of a population of 14,610 which had then arrived in the colony, no less than 8489 individuals were settled in the town of Adelaide, living chiefly upon imported capital, and employed by the fictitious and temporary business created by land jobbing and speculation.

The governor participated in the sanguine views of those around him, and launched out on a proportionate scale in buildings and other public works, at once depriving the settlement of much valuable labour, and afterwards involving many individuals in ruin by the nonpayment of his drafts on the South Australian commissioners. When Lord Stanley, in July 1842, brought before parliament the embarrassed circumstances of the South Australian government, the debt to be disposed of, contracted chiefly by the extravagant public expenditure of Governor Gawler, amounted to £405,433. The governor had clearly exceeded the limits of his

instructions in this enormous expenditure. The sum of £285,736 was defrayed from the British treasury; but the colonists still complain that a balance of nearly £120,000, contracted by an authority which they were not permitted to control, was left to be defrayed from the proceeds of the colonial lands,—a fund that had originally been set apart for the sole purpose of emigration.*

Governor Gawler was succeeded by Captain Grey,—a name now intimately associated with South Australian prosperity. But the necessary retrenchments of the new governor were not calculated at first to gain him the popularity which his firmness and good management afterwards acquired. He arrived in May 1841. The resources of South Australia had hitherto been very imperfectly developed. Necessity is a harsh but useful instructor, and the impoverished colonists, deserting their unsatisfactory pursuits in the town, betook themselves to a more profitable industry. In the year 1843, there were 17,366 colonists; but the population of Adelaide had been reduced to 6107. Two years previously the accumulated distress had reduced numbers of the immigrants to be dependent for support on the humanity of the government. Towards the end of 1842, the rapid revival of the colony had already

* This was the law at first. By act of parliament in 1842, applicable to all the Australian colonies, it is imperative to expend but one-half of the land fund on emigration, the remainder being reserved for roads, bridges, &c., and for emigration also, if found expedient.

occasioned a scarcity of labour, and the governor, as an act of duty, permitted the military to assist the colonists in securing a plenteous harvest.

Many parts of the country have a beautiful and park-like appearance, overspread with grass, and lightly timbered with the mimosa and the gum-trees. The climate is occasionally oppressive during the months of summer, but in general it is delightful and salubrious. The hot winds from the interior deserts blow with disagreeable severity, but they endure only for a brief period, and appear the appointed preliminary to a protracted and refreshing change. The evenings are almost invariably cool, and the warmth of the day is tempered by the breeze from the open ocean to the south and west. From May to September, the winter of the southern hemisphere, the temperature is cool and bracing, and the ground is regularly moistened with sufficient rain. The harvest has never failed; and the wheat of South Australia, thrust by her industrious colonists into all the adjacent markets, has eclipsed in quality the produce of her elder sisters.

More limited in the extent of her available territory, she has been far outstripped in her pastoral career by the neighbouring settlement of Australia Felix. The sheep of all ages in South Australia number at present about 650,000, in Australia Felix 3,000,000; and 40,000 head of horned cattle are represented in the latter district by upwards of 200,000. South Australia was therefore rapidly distanced in the mutual race. For the three years ended in 1840, the total of her

exports of produce amounted to £30,000, those of the Port Phillip settlement to £253,000; and even in 1845, when two important items of South Australian commerce, mineral ores and agricultural produce, began sensibly to swell the list, the value of exports was £132,000 against £342,000 for Port Phillip.*

But this supremacy is already vigorously contested by the entrance of South Australia into a new and unexpected department of wealth. An accident brought to light the existence of mineral ores spread in unlimited quantity over the surface of the country. The lead and copper of this colony have since been poured into the British market; and should the mining operations be adequately supplied with labour, the ascertained abundance of these materials will doubtless affect the market of the world. In 1846, Port Phillip exported 7,400,000 pounds weight of wool, and the value of her total exports of produce for that year amounted to nearly half a million sterling.† But South Australia had already exhibited, for the same period, an export of produce of the value of £287,000, of which sum £142,000 was the estimated value of her mineral ores.‡

* For the year ended 10th October 1845. The South Australian exports as above are the value of produce only, those of Port Phillip are the total official exports; but I estimate that the exports of produce sent *via* Sydney, and not officially recorded, are considerably more than the value that may have been here added on account of exports other than produce.

† These estimates include the considerable quantity of wool sent *via* Sydney from Port Phillip, Port Fairy, &c.

‡ Mr Dutton has given, p. 356, a summary of the quantity

The discovery of copper ore in South Australia forms an epoch that will ever be associated with her future greatness. This was effected towards the end of 1842 by two parties, Mr F. H. Dutton, and a son of Captain Bagot's, almost simultaneously and in the same locality. The discovery was kept secret, samples were forwarded to England, and in the mean time an eighty acre section of land, comprising the newly discovered minerals, quietly purchased at the upset price from the government. The analysis of the samples gave 23 per cent. of copper, an excellent proportion for materials gathered from the surface. Wealth and consideration, so justly due, has reached the authors of so important a discovery. Kapunda, the locality of the mine, has become a source of riches, which have converted its former solitude into a busy scene of commerce, with its village and its church, and the din of the forge manufacturing the tools of the miners.

Mr Menge, a German mineralogist of South Australia, had always asserted that the hills of the colony would be found to contain ores. But he spoke to an

and value of the copper ore raised within the United Kingdom, or imported from foreign mines, for the year 1845, as under :—

	Tons.	Amount.
Cornish mines, . . .	162,587	£919,938
Irish	18,650	119,478
Welsh	2,831	15,300
Foreign	45,686	642,590
	229,754	£1,697,306

The whole of this vast quantity of copper ore is smelted at Swansea. The mineral exportations of South Australia consist now almost entirely of copper ore.

inattentive audience; nor does it appear, notwithstanding the vast quantities of mineral treasures that have been lately discovered, that he himself had ever the good fortune to encounter them in his mineralogical excursions. From the circumstance of the ores being found generally on sterile and scrubby soils, their long concealment from the eyes of the colonists is more easily accounted for. The hilly ranges situated between the gulf of St Vincent and the river Murray, which are the principal mining locations, are composed of the ancient strata of the transition series, and probably cotemporary with the mineral deposits of Wales. South Australia differs in this respect from the adjacent territory of Australia Felix, where the hills, chiefly of a volcanic character, afford evidence of much more recent origin, and the greater part of the surface of the country has been overspread by volcanic products which have not been found to contain any valuable minerals.

The actual discovery of the ores did not for a period excite much attention. Few persons in the colony were competent to judge of their value. But the results of the assays in England quickly roused the colonists to a sense of the importance of this new article of their commerce, and the surface of the country began to be examined in every direction. Captain Bagot and Mr Dutton had obtained the Kapunda section unopposed, at the minimum price of the crown land. Very different was the result about two years afterwards, when it became desirable to effect an additional purchase, in consequence of the discovery of new ores upon some land

adjacent. One hundred acres were here exposed for sale by the government, and could not be secured for less than £2210. The average produce of thirty-nine miscellaneous specimens of the Kapunda ores proved to be 29¾ per cent. of copper.

Notwithstanding all that has been said of the South Australian mines, perhaps few are yet aware of the extent to which these treasures are to be found in that colony. In sinking a shaft at Kapunda, for the purpose of draining off the water from some adjacent workings, an inky coloured clay was thrown up in great quantities, and out of curiosity the proprietor took a handful with him by way of sample to Britain. "To my utter astonishment," remarks Mr Dutton, "on having it assayed, it was found to be impregnated with the black oxide of copper to the extent of 45 per cent."* Still more extraordinary is the extent of mineral wealth discovered at the Barra Creek, between eighty and ninety miles to the north of Adelaide, where two public companies are now working the mines. According to the report of a scientific observer of this locality, transmitted to England, there was found at one part "a continuous outcrop of gray sulphuret of copper exhibited on the surface, averaging about eighteen feet in breadth, and extending over the brow of the hill and down again to the south-eastern base or gully, *more than a mile in length.*"

In connexion with these recently developed treasures, a remarkable passage occurs in Flinders' account of his

* South Australia and its Mines, p. 274.

Australian explorations, regarding an extraordinary effect upon the compass as he passed the vicinity of this mineral territory. A rapid increase of the variation appeared in passing Yorke's Peninsula, which induced him to think that there must be magnetic substances in that or the neighbouring lands; and similar attraction appeared also to belong to Cape Jervis, or the east end of Kangaroo Island, or perhaps to both localities.*

According to the official statistics for 1846, there were fifteen different mines at work during the previous year in South Australia; but few of these have as yet exported the ores to any great extent.† In 1843, the value of this export amounted to only £128; in the following year, it had advanced to £6436; in 1845, it was £19,019; and in 1846, £142,231. This rapid progress still continues, and the emigration now directed to South Australia, both from Germany and Britain, will assist the colonists in their important and profitable industry. The South Australian settlers are now scattered over the face of their ample territory, pursuing their agricultural, pastoral, and mining occupations, from Cape Jervis and Rivoli Bay as far north as Mount Arden, and for upwards of a hundred miles up the western bank of the Murray.

It is a remarkable circumstance that two regions of

* Voyage to Australia, pp. 186 and 195. Iron ore of a more or less magnetic character has been found throughout the colony. The slightly magnetic qualities of lead and copper ore may also have assisted the effect, from the enormous quantity of the deposit.

† See Appendix H.

the world at once the most recently made known either to geography or commerce, and among the last that have been enrolled in the comprehensive list of British settlements, are now the most conspicuous of all others for their past progress, and perhaps also for their prospective resources and importance in the world. The preceding paragraphs illustrate the case of South Australia; the adjacent and cotemporary province of Australia Felix is thus described two years ago by the late governor of New South Wales: "I may assert with confidence," says Sir George Gipps, "and with some degree, I trust, of honest exultation, that in no part of the wide dominions of the British crown, at no period within England's history, was a colony planted and brought to maturity, without expense of any sort to the parent state, surpassing in energy, wealth, and character, that which has silently grown up, in the course of ten years, within your southern boundary,—the settlement of Port Phillip."*

* Speech to the Legislative Council, 13th November 1845.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE PASTORAL OR SQUATTING SYSTEM IN AUSTRALIA.

Present Extent of Squatting in New South Wales—Extensive Tracts of Country embraced by the Squatter—Regulations affecting the Squatting System—Changes; late Act of Parliament—Estimate of the New System—Scarcity and Value of Pastoral Stations—Mode of Sale or Transfer—Commissioners of Crown Lands—Establishment of a Sheep Station—Diseases of Sheep—Results of Sheep Farming—Cattle and Horses—View of Pastoral Life in Australia; its solitary Character—Plain Style of living—Hospitality—Progress of Society and general Improvement in the Interior.

BETWEEN the river Glenelg at the south-western extremity of Australia Felix, and Halifax Bay to the north of New South Wales, in 25° of south latitude, there is a space of eleven hundred miles in a straight line; and over this vast area, extending westwards beyond the remote waters of the Darling, for a distance of six hundred miles into the interior, are scattered about three thousand pastoral stations, situated at irregular but usually distant intervals one from another, according to the available qualities of the country in the supply of water and pasturage. The British farmer, accustomed to deal with small sections of land maintaining a high value amidst a populous nation, will learn with

surprise the liberal system of allotment with the Australian territory, where the land is measured out in square miles or leagues to each individual of its present handful of pastoral population. The extent of each run or station varies greatly according to the capabilities of the soil. During the greater part of the year the grass is superabundant even on stations that are reputed to be fully occupied with live stock; but the heat and drought of summer are usually sufficient, for a considerable period, to arrest the growth of the grass; and the effects of this occurrence with respect to the supply of pasturage are to be provided against only by an ample extent of surface, where the stock may continue to pick up nourishment until the return of moisture and a cooler temperature. The colonists commonly reckon, therefore, that from two to three acres of good or tolerable grassy land are necessary for the annual support of a single sheep. A few thousands of this description of live stock may thus be supposed to require for their maintenance a very considerable area of the country. In Australia Felix, where the grass is comparatively rich and plentiful, and the ground either clear of trees or but lightly timbered, each of the stations usually comprehends an area of from twenty to forty square miles. But in the Sydney District, where the vegetation is in general thinner, the area of each of these pastoral tracts is frequently upwards of one hundred square miles; and in two instances relating to that territory that came under the notice of government, one of the stations contained one thousand, and another

no less than eight thousand square miles; both localities doubtless comprehending a much greater extent of barren and mountainous than of available country. Throughout the Sydney District also, which has in general been much longer occupied than that of Port Phillip, there are usually larger numbers of live stock on each of the stations.

This rapid mode of colonizing a country has been denominated the squatting system in Australia, and consists in the occupation, by lease from the government, of such remote or otherwise unsettled portions of the crown territory as are not for the present required for other purposes in the progress of these colonies. Until within the last ten or eleven years, the waste lands of the crown, as these unsold portions are designated, were free to the occupation of all. As the stream of settlers flowed inwards to the north, to the south, or to the west, there seemed to be a mutual understanding as to the rights of priority of occupation; at least the first possession, as with many other subjects, gave the practical law of the case, and while the competitors were still few in number, a controversy for any particular location was scarcely to be expected, where a short additional journey would lead into other tracts of country perhaps equally suitable and altogether undisputed. But a mode of life so free and uncontrolled was destined only for the golden age of the world. Various individuals for whom the tame pursuits and slow acquirements of honest industry had no attractions, discovered a congenial field in the wide expanse of the Australian *bush*. They

formed stations like those around them, and prowling over the country, swept off the stray sheep and cattle, and speedily acquired considerable property at the expense of their scattered and unprotected neighbours.

A new system, therefore, came into operation in 1837,* "to restrain the unauthorized occupation of the crown lands." These remote colonial territories were divided into extensive districts, each of which was placed under the charge of a commissioner of crown lands, who held a kind of surveillance over the various squatters, to whom he issued licenses to depasture stock. It was thus intended to check the reigning evils by a power of withholding the license from such as occasioned disturbance, and prohibiting by penalties their depasturing without legal permission. This license was renewable annually, and subject on each occasion to a fee of £10 for each squatter, without reference to the extent of surface required or occupied by his flocks and herds. The immediate object in imposing the license-fee was to defray the expenses occasioned by the establishment of the office of the commissioners. Two years afterwards, it was found necessary to afford additional protection, both from their fellow-colonists and the aborigines, to the increasing numbers and remote locations of the squatters; and a small assessment on each head of the live stock was accordingly imposed, in order to raise a fund for the maintenance of a body of police.†

* 7 William IV. cap. 4, 7th July 1836, to take effect on 1st January following.

† Act of Council, 2 Vict. No. 19. The assessment was payable

Several changes were subsequently made in the regulations affecting the squatting interests. In April 1844, a new code was enacted by the colonial executive on the part of the crown, relative to the terms of occupancy of the waste lands, by which the larger stations were subjected to higher charges in proportion to their greater extent or pastoral capabilities. Some slighter alterations, but on a similar principle, were effected by the regulations of 10th July 1845, by which all stations of a greater extent than twenty-five square miles were chargeable with more than one license-fee. This additional charge, however, was not payable if such stations were certified by the commissioner as incapable of depasturing four thousand sheep or six hundred and forty head of cattle; and, on the other hand, stations, though not exceeding twenty-five square miles in extent, were chargeable with additional rates, namely, twenty shillings annually for each thousand sheep or one hundred and sixty head of cattle, which the station might be estimated to maintain beyond the respective numbers above mentioned. The act of parliament of the present year has superseded and in some measure altered these local enactments.

The development of a new system of regulations with reference to the crown lands of the colony, for the purpose of being laid before parliament, appears to have received great consideration, and to have been attended with difficulty and delay on the part of the

half yearly, and consisted of ½d. on each sheep, 1½d. on each head of horned cattle, and 3d. on each horse.

home government. The subject of the crown lands had latterly assumed a vexatious aspect in colonial legislation, and in 1846 occasioned a serious difference between the governor and his legislative council, which resulted in a refusal, on the part of the latter, to continue the squatting act then in operation, which happened to expire on 30th June of that year, and which it was desirable to prolong for another year, until the contemplated act of parliament should finally settle the question. The council objected to the previous interference of the executive with the squatting act in April 1844, at which time important alterations were effected without the previous consent of that body. Their refusal to continue the squatting act occasioned the cessation of the assessment rate on the live stock for the year 1846-7, and consequently of the fund for the support of the border police. The importance of the interests that are affected by the regulations of the crown lands, from which the chief commerce of this pastoral colony is now derived, has induced the majority of the legislature to make every consistent effort to secure a voice in the question of their disposal.

But the squatting system is hampered with other difficulties besides those of a constitutional character, and the subject was doubtless one of difficult adjustment to the home government. The squatter occupies with his live stock the vacant territory, until in the gradual progress of settlement it happens to be required for other purposes of the colony. The natural pastoral adaptation of the country enables it to be put to this immediately available use. The squatting occupant

has hitherto held his land upon an annual lease, involving an uncertainty which it has appeared desirable to avoid, as it retards the progress of improvement upon the various pastoral stations. The squatting system had grown up almost fortuitously and without method or arrangement, and been as it were jostled into working order by the necessities of particular cases as they successively presented themselves. Embracing at first but a limited interest, the prodigious increase of the colonial live stock during the last fifteen years has now proportionately swelled the importance of the subject.

Before entering upon the new regulations enacted by parliament with reference to the crown lands, it may be desirable to take a further preliminary glance at the system which has just been superseded. In the Sydney District, the squatting system related to all lands situated "beyond the limits of location." This official designation came into use in 1829, when the old colony of New South Wales was first laid out into counties, then nineteen in number, which comprised the territory situated "within the limits of location." The sold lands, and such as are intended for sale by the government, are situated within these boundaries, and such lands as are vacant or unsold are leased out on a different principle from that which prevails with reference to lands situated beyond these boundaries. Within the limits the land is leased by square mile sections for periods of one year, at a certain upset rental which is submitted to a public auction. This system is in some respects different in Australia Felix, from the circum-

stance of several new counties having been laid out in that district, which comprised a country already occupied by squatters who have since been allowed to remain under the previous system; and this is also the case with two new counties in the Sydney District. The squatters within these limits are however liable to be disturbed when applications are entertained for a lease of any square mile sections that may happen to form a part of their runs. The new regulations, to which we shall now return, effect some important alterations.

These regulations for the occupation of the crown lands of New South Wales are published in the Government Gazette of 27th April 1847, being the copy of an order in council of 9th March previous, passed by virtue of powers conferred by the preceding act of parliament. Their chief features are, 1. *The division of all the crown lands into three classes*, namely, the settled, intermediate, and unsettled. The settled lands comprehend the nineteen old counties of the colony, together with the counties of Macquarie and Stanley, and all lands within certain distances of chief towns and other valuable parts of the country. A circle of twenty-five miles, for example, is reserved around Melbourne, of fifteen miles around Geelong, and of ten miles around Portland and Alberton. The intermediate lands comprehend all the remainder of the counties not already included in the settled territory, together with all the remainder of the district of Gipps' Land. The unsettled lands comprise the rest of the territory.

2. *Leases to the squatters.* The unsettled lands may be leased, under certain qualifications, for periods of fourteen years, the intermediate lands for periods of eight years, and the settled lands for one year. Reservations are made with regard to these leases, in the event of any portion of the land being required for public purposes. The occupant, when displaced, is entitled to the value of such improvements as he has effected.

3. *Right of pre-emption.* This had been strongly contended for by the squatters; but the price of the land is not to be less than 20s. per acre. The extent of these purchases at any one time is to be not less than 160 acres; and the sections purchased are to be of rectangular shape, unless under particular local circumstances. Only certain proportions of water frontage are allowed, and in each case only one side of a stream or creek.

4. *Terms of payment.* These are somewhat similar to the rates previously existing. The lands are to be estimated according to pastoral capability. The annual rent or license-fee is not in any case to be less than £10, the amount payable for a tract capable of supporting 4000 sheep. For each 1000 sheep beyond this number, or for cattle in proportion, there is an additional payment of £2, 10s. per annum. Leases are renewable to former lessees on terms not exceeding 50 per cent. in addition to the previous rates.*

* For a more detailed account of all these new regulations see Appendix I.

It is impossible perhaps to predict with any certainty the effect of these new regulations upon the condition of the pastoral interests of the colony. Under the old system an annual lease appeared an uncertain tenure; but a tenant of the crown is not under an ordinary landlord; and a "law and practice" had gradually arisen, which protected the squatter, and required a valid reason in any case where the annual license was discontinued. The privilege of pre-emption,* which constitutes one of the new arrangements, is not likely to be taken advantage of in the remoter localities. The fourteen years' lease is the most important concession. A lengthened occupation under the crown gives a species of right which it has always in practice been difficult to overcome. The progress of improvement further identifies the tenant with the soil, and under a liberal system of valuing his outlay and exertions, he will generally find himself enabled to maintain his ground. A competent authority on this subject has not scrupled to regard this enactment as a virtual confiscation of the squatting territory.†

* The uninitiated reader should here be informed that by act of parliament all the crown lands brought forward for sale are to be bought at public auction. The right of pre-emption here spoken of is a permission to the squatter to purchase all or part of his station at a certain fixed price. The hardship of an auction in his case is, that in buying any part of his station under this system of competition, his own improvements would rise up against him to enhance the price.

† Lang's Phillip's Land, p. 353, &c. It will at least give a decided stimulus to the improvement of the squatting stations, and probably lead to the transmission of much British capital for that purpose.

The pastoral portion of Australia Felix has been rapidly taken up by the squatting population. Upwards of one thousand pastoral settlements are now scattered over the surface of the country. The continuous increase in the numbers of the flocks and herds still calls for the formation of additional stations. The larger runs have been subdivided under a system of economy with the pasturage, and the necessities and exertions of the settlers appear to result in a progressive enlargement of the pastoral capabilities of the district. The value of stations has consequently advanced in proportion to their scarcity in the market. Notwithstanding the apparent uncertainty of tenure which has hitherto prevailed, they were frequently bought and sold for considerable amounts. The right, such as it may be, to a good sheep or cattle station is now worth from £300 to £600, where convenient improvements, such as dwellings, sheds, and fencing, have been erected. The value of such improvements may amount to one-third or one-half of this sum, leaving the remainder as a consideration for the transfer of the right to the annual lease. As the ground, and of course the buildings or improvements upon it, are the property of the crown, the government did not sanction any sale of a run; a legal sale must consist only of the live stock, and the license to the station was transferred at the same time. However, as the runs, whether with or without improvements, have become, in mercantile phrase, articles of value, some mode of procedure was quickly ascertained. The sheep or cattle carry with them their

own value, together with that of the run that accompanies them; and where no flocks or herds happen to be in the bargain, a few pigs "more or less" are left upon the ground, or by convenient fiction are supposed to roam thereabouts, which are sold with the run for the sum agreed upon.

The adventurous squatter, who is successful in discovering additional tracts of pastoral country, is usually rewarded by a liberal allotment of the new lands for his own use, under the current regulations as to the license-fee and assessments. If he purchases from another a station which has been already in occupation, he has merely to procure a transfer of the license from the previous occupant. It is no easy business to administer these lands in fair and accurate proportions to the actual requirements of the settlers. Occasionally some grasping stockholder is made to yield up a corner of his extensive territory,—an event which is usually accompanied with much dissatisfaction; nor is it easy for the commissioner to judge or for human nature to act always impartially on these occasions. The duties of the commissioner of crown lands are now of too onerous and invidious a character. The interests which his office was originally created to superintend, have now expanded to an importance which is far too great to be controlled by the uncertain and random decisions of these individual authorities.*

* This defect in the old system, which will still perhaps in some degree affect the new, was rapidly, however, bringing about its own cure. Appeals were made to common law against the

For the formation of a good sheep station, there should be an open grassy country, and a soil not permanently damp or wet. A constant supply of water is of course an essential requisite, and the experienced colonist, who knows the effects of a summer's drought, is cautious of trusting to the verdant appearance of the grass, or the rippling waters of the creeks, as exhibited during the season of winter and spring. The usual establishment of the station, under economical management, consists of a shepherd and hut-keeper attached to each separate flock, and a cook, a bullock driver, and perhaps a working overseer, besides the proprietor of the stock at the homestead or head-quarters. The never failing team of working bullocks, with their ponderous vehicle, a few horses and dogs, complete the usual variety of the picture. The flocks of sheep are generally placed on separate parts of the run, where out-stations or small huts are constructed for the use of the two parties who are attached to each flock. About sunrise, the shepherd drives forth his bleating charge, guiding the direction of the march when any occasion may require, but otherwise leaving the sheep to their own freedom. Towards sunset they are driven back to the vicinity of the hut, and enclosed for the night within a fence of hurdles. The principal duty of the hut-

doings of the commissioner. After the case of Sprot *versus* Fyans, tried at Melbourne in 1845, where the former, a squatter, obtained a verdict with £200 damages against the latter, a crown-lands' commissioner, few of these officers would feel inclined to interfere to any material extent with the squatting stations under their charge.

keeper, besides cooking the provisions, is to shift the hurdles daily to a dry and fresh portion of ground.

From the high rates of wages that generally prevail in the colony, economy in the number of servants is essentially requisite in the management of a station. The number of sheep that are usually run together under one shepherd are now from 1000 to 1500. Frequent attempts have been made to increase this number to 2000 and even 3000 in each flock, and by means of mounted shepherds to obviate the necessity of the nightly housing of the sheep. These plans may succeed in open parts of the country, which are free from the attacks of wild dogs or of the aboriginal population; but in general such numerous bodies are apt to suffer from diseases, and from inadequate attention bestowed upon them during the season of lambing, and even from want of sufficient food in thinly grassed countries, owing to the strongly gregarious habits of the animal.

Sheep are subject to several diseases in Australia, which occasionally rage with destructive violence. The common disease called the scab is a troublesome and expensive visitant in a flock; and being highly infectious, requires the most careful attention. The settlers are not agreed as to the causes of its first appearance. It spreads rapidly among the flock from any infected individuals; and where care has not been taken, or the weather has proved unpropitious, the diseased skin and broken fleece exhibit a sad and tattered spectacle. A solution of corrosive sublimate applied to the infected parts is the most approved cure,

and where the case is bad, the body of the sheep is often totally immersed in the mixture. The disease called catarrh or influenza, which attacks the eyes of the sheep, is also of a most destructive and infectious character, but rarely appears in Australia Felix. Footrot, occasioned usually by the soft moisture of a rich soil, is a more common complaint, and is cured by the application of bluestone, and cutting away the affected portion of the hoof.*

Few commercial pursuits in Australia have hitherto been more varied in their results than that of sheep farming. This is not, however, to be attributed to any inherent uncertainty in the advantages of this important branch of Australian traffic. It is a favourite line of employment, which has been pursued by a number of individuals of every variety of experience and managing ability; and for several years the results have been mixed up with temporary fluctuations of price and speculative credit transactions, whose effects should be excluded from the calculation. The rate of wages, the price of wool, the cost of the various stores required at the station, each variously fluctuating in the successive seasons, influence to a considerable extent the ratio of profit. The distance of the station from seaports and markets is also an important circumstance.

* The effects from the two first of these complaints have been guarded against by repeated acts of the colonial legislature. Until lately sheep infected with scab were permitted to be driven about during the month of February; but they are now prohibited entirely from traversing districts depastured by other sheep.

A location convenient to town not only obviates the expenses and accidents of a protracted overland carriage, but affords facilities for the profitable sale or purchase of live stock, amidst the fluctuations of the colonial markets. I have no hesitation in saying that the results are highly advantageous, and that no individual whatever in Australia Felix, and perhaps within a much larger circle of the country, who has evinced ordinary good management, and has always restrained his operations within the limit of his means, and avoided running into debt, has failed eventually to realize a full reward for his industry. But I must also admit, with a writer on this subject, himself a squatter, that such favourable results are in a great measure attributable to the opportunities of saving that are afforded by the economical mode of living adopted at the squatting stations.*

Cattle are usually managed with less expense than sheep; but yet the results in this case are not in general considered to be so favourable as with a well managed sheep station; and accordingly their price hovers more steadily than that of sheep in the vicinity of the product of the melting pot. Ten bullocks of average size and condition are estimated to yield by the melting process a ton of tallow, worth about £30. The prices of dairy produce, as might be anticipated in a pastoral country, are too low to afford great remuneration. The breeding of horses is rarely carried on at a

* Letter to the Hon. F. Scott on Land and Labour in Australia, by Gideon S. Lang, p. 76, &c.

separate establishment; a small troop is usually attached to each sheep or cattle station.*

The number of the live stock upon each station throughout the colony varies between very wide bounds. The industrious shepherd, who after a few years of service has secured to himself a slender competence, hazards a commencement on his own account with so small a number as a few hundred ewes. From 4000 to 6000 sheep, or from 500 to 1000 head of cattle, are frequently met with upon a single station; but many squatters even in Australia Felix have already accumulated from 10,000 to 20,000 sheep, maintained upon one locality, where they have been fortunate in procuring a sufficient extent of pasturage. In the present official estimates with reference to apportioning the crown lands for pasture, 640 head of horned cattle or horses are supposed to be equal to 4000 sheep.

The occupations and mode of life of an Australian squatter are perhaps of as distinct a character as can be found in the ample list of the vocations of a civilized community. Isolated on some expanded plain, sequestered in the mountain glens, or buried in the depths of the forest, the small community, which is grouped together at the "homestead," passes weeks and even months without communication or intelligence with the rest of the world. The respective squatting establishments, dotted over the country at intervals of five or ten miles apart, are generally hid by some

* See Appendix K for detailed estimates of the profits of sheep and cattle farming.

intervening obstacle from the view of one another. In localities adjacent to towns, where the pasturage is more valuable, the stations have been much subdivided, and the population is comparatively numerous; but at remoter distances, the settlers are thinly scattered far and wide over the country, and its longest direction might be repeatedly traversed in a random line, without encountering a single dwelling, or even discovering that a settlement, now flourishing and important, was so much as inhabited by man.*

The pleasures of pastoral life must of course be differently appreciated according to individual dispositions and sentiments; but in general, when a residence of a few years has created a home, established a daily round of employments, and accustomed the mind to the paucity of social intercourse, this mode of existence is found to be possessed of its own peculiar attractions. To many of the young, the clear and bracing atmosphere, the frequent exercise on horseback, and the freedom of the boundless landscape, have attractions which in their estimation exceed those of all other pursuits; and they do not readily relinquish so congenial a mode of life. Where a numerous family have been enabled to accumulate around them some measure of the usual conveniences of civilized life, and are content pass their time

* I was particularly struck with this circumstance in travelling, on two occasions, to the western extremity of the district, during which I not only saw little or nothing of man (except when specially sought for), but rarely caught a glimpse even of a flock of sheep—so large is the extent of country required and furnished in Australia for pastoral purposes.

in unostentatious retirement, there is no want of real and solid experience of the pleasure of existence.

The style of living in *the bush* is proverbially simple and homely. The sheep, the great Australian staple, contributes with his wool and his flesh to the support both of the outer and the inner man. A solid description of bread, consisting simply of well-kneaded coarse flour and water, baked in the ashes, adds the variety of the *damper* to the everlasting mutton. In the earlier days of squatting life in the district, the plan was generally adhered to, both as a saving of expense and to avoid trouble with the men, of excluding all ardent spirits from the station, and indeed every other manufactured fluid, save only that from

> The cup that cheers but not inebriates.

This solitary variety was accordingly dealt out, not in the diminutive cups of established usage, but poured from huge kettles and served in quart pannikens to the surrounding company. But the great companion of civilisation gradually wrought his way, overturning the prejudices entertained against him. The public-house sprung up throughout the interior, and ankers of strong waters successively found their way to the various homesteads, packed up in all manner of disguise, to elude the curious scrutiny of the thirsty bullock-drivers.

The scattered occupants of the bush were distinguished in the earlier times by a general hospitality, which the increase of population has since gradually restricted. No small charm of an excursion to the interior was wont to consist in the open door and cordial

welcome that awaited the traveller at each succeeding stage of his journey. The homely fare was shared, the news of the day canvassed over a blazing fire, and, after a tankard of hyson and an oft-replenished pipe, the drowsy guests reclined their heads upon their saddles, and stretched their limbs upon the primeval sod that represented the flooring of the hut.

A very humble degree of elegance and comfort was wont to appear at the various homesteads of the bush; and the significant denomination of *the huts*, by which they were long universally distinguished, still continues to represent the merits of the great majority of these pastoral edifices. From an indifference to comforts on the part of the young men who composed the greater portion of the squatters, from the shortness of an annual tenure of their runs, and, above all, from the absence of female society, the improvement of the various locations of the interior proceeded until lately at a slow and unpromising pace. A more rapid change, however, appears now to be in progress. Within the last three or four years a number of families have moved into the country; many of the squatters have taken wives; and

> The magic wand
> Of woman's hand

has increased the domestic comforts, while her society has enlivened and embellished the intercourse of Australia Felix. Various well-doing squatters have erected substantial mansions, and effected other useful improvements at their stations. Fruit and vegetables are now commonly met with at these sequestered abodes; and the

fragrance of the garden gradually supplants less savoury odours at each Australian Glenburnie of the olden time. The neatly furnished room, the library, the well trimmed window-creepers, and the noise of the poultry without, mingling with the bleating of the young lambs, may now occasionally recall to the solitary community the picture of a dear though far distant land.

Before taking leave of these pastoral domains, I may present to the squatter a rather amusing contrast in the description of the origin of his order as compared with its present circumstances. A recent author, speaking of the negligent charge taken of the convicts in assigned service in the earlier days of the colony, remarks, that "the majority of them found means to gratify their appetites by petty plunder, either of their own masters or of others, and they had unfortunately great facility in disposing of the stolen goods to a set of men who were to be found upon the borders of every large estate, and who were known by the name of *squatters*. These were ticket-of-leave holders or freed-men, who erected a hut on waste land near a great public road, or on the outskirts of an estate where a number of convicts were employed, and immediately became the nuisance of the district." * The poet's exclamation, "O what a falling off is here!" may be happily reversed in this instance, in contemplating, in the modern squatters, the aristocratic portion of the colonial community.

* Brain's History of New South Wales, vol. i. p. 235.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE AUSTRALIAN WOOL TRADE.

Present Importance of the Wool Trade—Extraordinary Increase in Australia—Proportion of Foreign and Colonial Wools imported into Britain—Origin and Progress of the Public Wool Sales in London—Breed of Sheep in Australia—Preparation and Shipment of the Fleece—The Wool Shipping Season—Mode of Business with the Settler—Other Australian Exports.

THE importance at present assumed by the Australian wool trade in the lists of British commerce demands some degree of attention in the history of an Australian settlement. I shall therefore devote the present chapter to a short account of this branch of commerce, in its capacity both of an export from the Australian colonies and an import into the British market.

In our introductory chapter we have seen that in the year 1836 the quantity of wool exported from Sydney amounted to 3,700,000 pounds weight. The proportion from the Port Phillip District included in this amount could not, at so early a period of her existence, have exceeded 60,000 pounds weight. Five years afterwards, the annual produce had attained to 1,578,000 lbs.; and the lapse of a similar period, bringing us down to the

year 1846, exhibits the astonishing quantity of 7,400,000 lbs.* During this interval of ten years, the quantity of wool exported from Sydney, exclusive of any from Australia Felix, had increased from three and a half millions to nearly twelve millions of pounds weight.

The importation of wool into the British market appears indeed, like the rise of the Australian colonies, to be but a business of yesterday, and one among numerous other instances of the wonderful extension of modern commerce. In 1820, the quantity imported was under ten millions of pounds weight; in 1845, it had risen to seventy-six millions. The proportion from the Australasian colonies in the former year was the one hundredth part; it now forms upwards of one half of the whole importation;† and at the steady and rapid ratio of the present increase of Australian wool, the lapse of a few years will exhibit a quantity far greater than the united total of the wool at present imported into Britain from every quarter of the world.‡

The periodical public sales of colonial wool, which now

* The wools occasionally sent from Port Phillip by way of Sydney, and appearing in the customs as Sydney exports, are here allowed for. The season or year is taken as ending on 10th October, as the usual date of 31st December falls in the midst of the wool shipments, and cannot fairly represent the quantities and ratio of progress of each year.

† In 1846, the relative quantities imported into Britain were, in round numbers, 34 millions of pounds of foreign wool and 30 millions of colonial. For the present year, the colonial may be safely assumed at somewhat more than half the importation.

‡ Particulars of the importation of foreign and colonial wool into Britain are given in Appendix L. The following table exhibits he respective averages, in round numbers, for each period of five

occupy so important a position among the commercial occurrences of the British capital, date their origin only so lately as the year 1817. The prices at that time, and for some subsequent period, were only from 2d. to 3d. per pound; and it was not until twelve or fourteen years afterwards that any important advance took place in the value of this commodity. The fine quality of the Australian wool began soon after to attract notice, and in 1835 and 1836 to excite the attention even of foreign manufacturers. From very small beginnings the extent of the periodical auction sales gradually increased. An unprecedented number of 750 bales was announced for one series of sales in 1825; and for some years afterwards 400 bales were considered to form a very extensive sale. But in July 1835, 8746 bales were brought forward, realizing for the better qualities the considerable rates of from 2s. 6d. to 3s. 8d. per pound; and at the sales of the same month in 1844, there were exposed no less than 31,358 bales.*

years from 1826 to 1845; the numbers representing millions of pounds weight:

Average of years.	Foreign Wool.	Colonial Wool.	Total.
1826-30	25	2	27
1831-35	34	4	38
1836-40	44	10	54
1841-45	36	22	58
1846	34	30	64

This table illustrates the extraordinary progress of the colonial production, three fourths of which consists of the Australian wool.

* This included a small quantity of foreign wool. The proportion from Australia and Van Diemen's Land on this occasion was 26,134 bales. The early sales were held at Garraways, and

The celebrated wools of Australia are derived from two principal breeds of sheep, the Merino and the Saxon. The former is the finest in quality, but it may be doubted if an adequate price has been hitherto derived to compensate for the lighter weight of the fleece. In the Sydney District attention was chiefly bestowed on the Merino, in Van Diemen's Land on the Saxon; and the Port Phillip District received a share of both, as the colonists from either locality transported their flocks to her pastures. This mixture of breeds was still farther increased by occasional crosses with the Leicester and South Down. In fact, from the numbers of inexperienced persons who entered on the occupation of sheep-farming in this new settlement, and, without any fixed principles, carried on a mere random system of breeding, the greater portion of the wool consists of every shade of quality that natural accidents could produce. The abundant pasturage of Port Phillip appears also to affect the pure Merino wool of the Sydney District, which in the former locality acquires a more open appearance, loses somewhat of its fineness, and increases about a quarter or half a pound in the weight of the fleece.* There has been for several years a desire to introduce a greater uniformity of quality in the fleeces

continued there from 1817 to 1843, when the locality was transferred to the Hall of Commerce, where they still continue. The first bale at the first sale, from the novelty of the circumstance, realized 10s. 6d. per pound. Mark Lane Express, 7th, 14th, 21st October 1844.

* The average weight of the good qualities of Port Phillip fleeces, after washing, is from 2½ to 2¾ lbs.; of the Sydney fleeces about 2¼ lbs.

of each particular grower, and on the whole an inclination to adhere to the production of the finer qualities of wool.

The shearing of the sheep usually takes place at an early period of the season, in order both to secure a supply of water, and, if possible, of a running stream for the washing of the fleece, before the summer's drought has set in, and to avoid the grass seeds and burrs that attach themselves to the fleece towards the middle of summer, and are very abundant in many of the sheep pastures. In dry and warm localities, a commencement is made so early as the month of September; but in general October is the busy month over all the country. Owing, however, to the number of shearers required at this period, and the usual scarcity of labour in these colonies, the clipping of many of the flocks is delayed for one or even two months beyond the appropriate season. The present rate of wages is 12s. 6d. per hundred fleeces, besides an ample ration to each shearer. An expert hand will shear fully 100 sheep in a day. These labourers usually form themselves into bands or gangs, each of which takes some particular locality, and makes the round of the various stations.

The fleece is generally washed before being shorn, and greater efforts are made in Australia Felix, and in the colony at large, to produce a snowy fleece than the colonists have hitherto obtained credit for, or the appearance of the greater part of their wool would indicate. But many have no running water on their stations; with others the water-holes are muddy, or are shortly

made so in the washing process; and the high price of wages operates variously against all improvements. The plan of spout-washing is now generally adopted where practicable, and consists in pouring down from the elevation of a few feet a jet of water upon the sheep, as they are successively brought under the stream for that purpose. Where the fleece has been moistened for several hours previously, the spout-washing process is usually very effectual.* The sheep are never shorn immediately after washing, but a certain interval, according to the state of the weather, is allowed for the yoke to rise again in the wool; and during this period, which is usually about three days, the sheep are either confined in some house constructed for the purpose, to prevent the soiling of their fleeces, or, as more commonly happens, they are merely placed on some clean portion of the run. The return of the yoke imparts a softness to the wool which shows it to greater advantage; and further benefits the settler by increasing the weight of the fleece. In localities where the washing cannot be conveniently accomplished, or in cases where the sheep are severely affected with the scab, the fleeces are shorn *in the grease*, and afterwards scoured or washed by hand in town.

The wool is now ready to be packed and despatched

* In the Sydney District what are denominated the "crack lots" of wool are produced by very careful washing. Some are said to make use of tepid water. In the rage for improvement the use of soda has been tried to correct the hardness of the water; and I have heard of a settler even plunging a cask of that material into the ocean of a water-hole.

to the port of shipment. Each fleece is cleared of the locks and clippings or other unseemly portions, and is usually tied with a piece of string, and tightly squeezed into bags containing about one hundred each, or from 250 to 300 pounds weight. The ponderous bullock dray is now yoked to its team of eight or a dozen oxen, and, charged with an ample load of the golden fleece, is despatched from the station on its annual and protracted mission to the port of shipment.

The wool on its arrival in town is now generally classed and repacked at an establishment for that purpose, unless this process has already been competently performed at the station. The classification distinguishes only the entire fleece; it is not attempted to proceed to a minuter distinction of qualities by breaking the fleeces. When intended for sale, the wool on its arrival in town is conveniently exhibited in the various bins of the sorting establishment, and its quality and condition fairly ascertained.* The system of repacking is also of use in exposing any wet or damp that the wool may have acquired on the way from the interior, in which condition it is in danger of heating

* At the establishment of the Messrs Bakewell in Melbourne, the wool is assorted first into the two leading divisions of clothing and combing, and each of these descriptions is run out into five qualities, the fifth or lowest being the coarse Leicester breeds. Extra fine lots are classed by themselves as *super*. Greasy or kempy, or other defective fleeces, are also classed apart. The charge for sorting is ¼d. per lb. The usual charge for hand-washing is 1d. per pound on the weight returned, and for scouring 1d. to 1½d. per lb.

and even of originating fire in the hold of a vessel during a lengthened voyage.

The shipping season for the Australian staple commences towards the end of October; but only a few solitary drays have succeeded in reaching town during that month. Considerable quantities have arrived by the end of November; and during the two succeeding months there is a continuous succession of vehicles pouring with their voluminous loads into the various ports of the district.* These arrivals begin to fall off in February; but during that and the two succeeding months considerable quantities continue to be shipped, including the later shorn fleeces of the young lambs. The shipment of other exports, which are comparatively of unimportant amount, terminates with that of the wool. A solitary vessel may linger till July or August, when the transactions of the season are finally closed.

Thus nearly all the export produce of the district is shipped or is ready for shipment during about four months of the summer,—namely, from the middle of November to the middle of March; and there is in consequence a periodical alteration in the rate of the exchange on London. During the shipping season, the numerous drafts of the colonists are disposed of to the local banks, or to other purchasers, at a rate which of course declines from

* There are five shipping ports in Australia Felix,—namely, Melbourne, or its port of Williamstown, Geelong, Portland, Belfast, and Port Albert, or Alberton, in Gipps' Land. The quantity for the present year (1847) may be estimated at about 28,000 bales, of which five-sixths are shipped at Williamstown and Geelong.

a par exchange according to the relation between the supply and demand. During the remainder of the year, when few or no drafts appear in the market, the rate of the exchange is reversed. The range between either extreme was wont to be very considerable several years since, amounting occasionally to seven and even ten per cent.; at present it is seldom more than four per cent.

Where the country settler is not disposed to sell his produce in the colonial market, he usually obtains an advance upon it, to nearly the extent of its value, from a merchant, who consigns the produce for sale, on the settler's account, to his friends in Britain. The drafts of the merchants on their principals are generally accompanied by the bill of lading of the produce against which they are made; and the local banks, mindful of the calamitous scenes from which the colony has so lately emerged, adopt the further precaution of advancing to their customers only from three-fourths to four-fifths of the market value of each export.

The other exports of Australia Felix consist chiefly of tallow, cured beef and mutton, wheat, mimosa bark, and gum-wood; but none of these articles, nor indeed all put together, bear any considerable relation to the quantity of the staple production. During 1844 and 1845, the low prices of sheep and cattle permitted the manufacture of large quantities of tallow; but this branch of business has since been materially diminished.* The colonists both at Sydney and Port Phillip

* It fell off during 1845. From official returns it appears that during that year the tallow produced and sheep and cattle

also commenced, on a scale of some extent, the curing of beef and of mutton hams during the depressed period of the colony; but neither of these processes appears to have at all answered expectation. The export of wheat is not likely to attain to any extent under the approaching free trade system of Britain with regard to grain; and that of the mimosa bark is now discontinued. The solid and rather handsome wood of the red gum-tree may possibly arrive at some importance as an export when better known in the British market.

slaughtered for that purpose in New South Wales, stood as follows:

	Sheep.	Horned Cattle.	Tallow in Cwts.
Sydney District,.....	85,377	36,361	46,854
Port Phillip District,...	10,950	2,784	4,344
Total,.....	96,327	39,145	51,198

The return for Port Phillip is probably much under the truth. About 2000 tons of tallow have been manufactured in that district since the beginning of 1844, the greater part of which quantity was made during that year.

CHAPTER XVIII.

AGRICULTURE.

Variety and Extent of Australian Production—Modes of Agriculture—Deficiencies—Rotation of Crops—Poor Character of Australian Wheat—Analyses of Strzelecki and Dr Ure—Experiments on Soils—Luxuriant Growth of the Vine—Prospective Wine-making—Superior Agriculture of South Australia—The Reaping Machine—Chief Agricultural Localities of the Port Phillip District—Increased Security of the Colonial Harvest from the Extension of Cultivation—Supply of Field and Garden Produce—Australian Farming Life.

The agriculturist will not be disappointed in Australia Felix, in reference either to the productiveness of the soil or the variety of the field and garden produce that may be reared throughout the district. Maize or Indian corn flourishes along with all the usual descriptions of grain; and in the orchards and gardens, the fruits and other produce of a British climate are associated with the vine and the fig, the peach, the melon, and other varieties of a warmer latitude, bearing luxuriant crops on the rich black soils in the vicinity of Melbourne and Geelong. Still more remarkable is the contrast in the more northern parts of the colony, where a warmer temperature, while it maintains all these southern varieties, introduces

an additional series of produce. The varied adaptations of a bountiful climate may be illustrated by the orchard of the Australian Agricultural Company at Port Stephens, where the English oak flourishes by the side of the banana, and is surrounded by a luxuriant growth of vines and orange trees.*

The extent of cultivated land in New South Wales, according to official returns, amounted in 1845 to 163,331 acres, including the lands under crop at the various squatting stations. The proportion for the district of Port Phillip, which is not officially distinguished, may now amount to upwards of 30,000 acres.† In the agricultural colony of Van Diemen's Land, there are at present nearly 200,000 acres of tilled land. The proportion of land under wheat in New South Wales, for the year above specified, amounted to 87,894 acres, or something more than one-half of the whole colonial cultivation; but the produce of 1,211,099 bushels of wheat, or an average of less than fourteen bushels per acre, affords a rather poor specimen of Australian agriculture. No separate official estimate appears as to the produce of the Port Phillip lands, which are included in this low average for New South Wales. They are in general somewhat more productive than the lighter and drier

* Strzelecki, p. 378. The climate of Australia Felix is too cold to produce oranges freely, but where the young trees are protected from the frosts of winter, they will both bear and ripen this fruit.

† In 1845, there were ascertained to be 12,185 acres of cultivated land in the county of Bourke, of which 6592 acres were devoted to wheat. There were 16 acres of vines and 163 acres of gardens.

soils of the northern part of the colony. In South Australia, the average of wheat crops is about 20 bushels per acre; but in rich districts, such as the vicinity of Mount Barker, the yield is considerably more, and 30 to 40 bushels per acre are frequently obtained.* By the official returns for this colony for the year 1845, there were 26,218½ acres of land under cultivation, of which number no less than 18,838 acres were planted with wheat.

Only a short period has elapsed since the advantages of subsoil ploughing became generally known or appreciated in Britain. The trenching of the ground, or raising and pulverizing the hard and clayey subsoil, produces in the agricultural and gardening operations in Australia effects still more extraordinary and beneficial than have been observed in Britain. The greater scope and nourishment thus afforded to the growth of trees and plants, is not more important than the cool temperature and longer continued moisture that surround the roots in their deeper lodgement during the drought and heat of summer. By trenching the ground to the depth of only eighteen inches, the growth of vines and fruit trees is astonishingly stimulated, and vegetables may be readily produced during all the period of summer. The black soils formed from the basaltic rocks are often intersected during summer with deep rents or cracks occasioned by the heat of the sun. On such soils, even before being trenched, the fruit trees grow with unusual rapidity and luxuriance, from the

* Dutton, p. 206, &c.

natural means which these fissures afford to the roots to ramify the otherwise impenetrable subsoil.

The system of irrigation has been little if at all tried in New South Wales, where there are few facilities for the purpose in extensive elevated reservoirs maintained by running water. In this important branch of agricultural improvement, the neighbouring colony of Van Diemen's Land is far in advance of New South Wales, and the results have occasionally exhibited extraordinary success. On one of the numerous and valuable agricultural estates of that island five tons of hay and five to six tons of potatoes per acre are now raised upon many hundreds of acres of land that had previously been arid or swampy and produced nothing whatever.*

The recommendations of science in matters of practical agriculture are not usually regarded with attention. But nothing can be more evident than that a succession of the same crop, drawn year after year from one locality, must finally exhaust that particular soil of various components of the crop in question, which are not returned, at least in any adequate measure, to the ground by compensatory processes of nature. Hence the importance of a change or rotation of crops. Want of attention or knowledge in this respect has occasioned rich fields and territories to be converted into an unproductive country, which can bear nothing without manure and other expensive treatment. A striking example is furnished in the instance of the state of Virginia, U. S., where crops of wheat and tobacco were formerly raised

* The estate of Mr Kermode. Strzelecki, p. 385.

for one hundred years together without the aid of manure. The lands thus heedlessly treated are now in consequence exhausted, and whole districts of these once fertile fields have been abandoned to pasturage.* Agricultural lands of similar fertility exist on the banks of the River Hawkesbury in the Sydney District, where several fields have produced crops of wheat without intermission for a period of nearly thirty-five years.† Productive as these lands may still continue to prove, they are evidently tasked beyond the powers of nature; and the ample harvests of the Hawkesbury may ere-long be known to us only in the history of the past.

A proper rotation of crops, together with manures and the remains of previous harvests ploughed in, has the tendency to adjust the losses sustained by the soil in the withdrawal by successive harvests of its fertilizing principles, and to combine with the greatest amount of produce a continuance or even increase of productive power. The Australian soils, in the opinion of the distinguished author who has been so frequently quoted, approximate very much in their character to those of Eastern Prussia, where the agricultural school of Möchlin has introduced a seven years' rotation of crops with great benefit to the country; and he accordingly

* Strzelecki, p. 434.

† Lang's New South Wales, vol. i. p. 80. These lands are occasionally refreshed by the inundations of the river; but on one occasion for eleven years consecutively, prior to 1830, no flood of this description had occurred. It is now ten years since the work I have quoted was written, and I believe that these lands are still producing as before.

adapts a rotation somewhat similar, occupying a period of five years, which, with the aid of irrigation and manures, he thinks may be advantageously acted on in Australia, namely:*

1st Year.	2d Year.	3d Year.	4th Year.	5th Year.
Manure. Turnips, fed off. —— Manure. Potatoes.	Wheat and Clover.	Lucerne. Treverolle. The first crop taken off; the second ploughed in.	Oats. —— Turnips, fed off.	Wheat and Clover.

The wheat of Australia and Van Diemen's Land, which was exported from 1844-6 in considerable quantities to Britain, realized in general very high prices in that market, with the view of being used for a change of seed.† The colonists, according to the authority just mentioned, have nevertheless been very inattentive to the quality of their produce; and the wheat grain has consequently in general deteriorated throughout New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, and contains a greater per centage of husk, and less of gluten and albumen, than the samples originally imported. The following is a comparative view of the average per centage of gluten contained in the wheats of the different divisions of the globe, by reference to which it

* Strzelecki, p. 452-454.

† I have understood that this wheat, used as seed, has often proved very unprofitable to the British farmer; the produce was frequently shrivelled, and the grain did not recover its plumpness till the second or third harvest.

will be perceived that the produce of Australia maintains a very low ratio :

Europe	22.5
Asia	21.6
Africa	22.
N. America	21.3
S. America	17.9

Now the highest average in New South Wales, according to Strzelecki, obtained from the wheat of Camden and several other farms, amounted to only 16 per cent., and the best Van Diemen's Land samples contained 18 per cent. But even these results were far beyond those obtained in other instances, and the wheat of various localities in both colonies was found to contain less than even 4 per cent. The wheat of South Australia, according to the investigations of Dr Ure, contains a larger proportion of nutritious principle than that of these neighbouring colonies, and equals on an average that which is afforded by the samples from North and South America.

Dr Ure, however, considers that Count Strzelecki adopted an uncertain system in endeavouring to determine the nutriment of the grain from the quantity of gluten. This moist gluten may contain a variable proportion of water, and the old method of washing out the starch from the flour, by which the gluten is obtained, does not yield the proportion of albumen and caseine, which are also component elements of the grain, and likewise contain the important principle of azote. "By the accurate determination of the azote, which can now

be done very perfectly by modern methods of chemical research, we are in a position to ascertain the nutritive qualities of the cerealia with great precision."*

The observations of Count Strzelecki are important with respect to wet and dry soils, and those on which the crops are subject to destruction by frost. The agriculturist will find these phenomena satisfactorily explained in the work of that traveller, where they are referred to the different powers of the respective soils for the absorption or emission of moisture, or the absorption or radiation of heat, as ascertained by a series of experiments.† As a protection against smut or blight, so common in the Australian colonies, he recommends the prescription of Boussingault, a great authority,—namely, sulphate of copper in proportion of three ounces to a bushel of wheat, diluted in water sufficient to cover the grain, and to soak for a period not exceeding three hours.‡

The luxuriant growth of the vine, both in New South Wales and South Australia, has occasioned some interesting speculation with reference to the production of wine in these colonies. The considerable German emigration which has taken place to South Australia will assist this anticipated branch of future commerce. The cultivation of vines and fruit has proceeded to some extent in the Sydney District, where the manufacture and even the export of wine has been already com-

* See Dr Ure's Report in Dutton, p. 235.
† Pages 214-225, 429.
‡ Ibid. p. 458.

menced. Some of the produce of the Messrs M'Arthur's vineyard was sold at Calcutta in March 1846, being the first appearance, as remarked by the local press, of that new Australian export in that market. According to official returns for the year 1845, there were 648 acres of vineyard throughout New South Wales, including thirty-seven acres for the Port Phillip District; the produce of wine amounted to 54,996 gallons, and of brandy to 1433 gallons: 214 gallons of wine had been manufactured during that year at Port Phillip.

The wholesale price of grapes in the Melbourne market for the last two seasons has been about 3d. per pound. Much additional ground, however, has latterly been laid out in vineyard, and the abundance of the supply will probably within several years reduce the price to 1d. per pound, at which rate the manufacture of wine may be expected to commence on an extensive scale. Probably above eighty acres of land are now planted with vines throughout the Port Phillip District; but these plants, in common with the stock of fruit trees, are still in general extremely young, and yield but moderate crops.

The wines of the Sydney District have usually been hitherto of a light or Rhenish character. We have still to learn the results of Port Phillip manufacture. In the mean time I am anxious to caution my fellow-colonists against the common practice of applying to these new descriptions of wine the old and standard names of the produce of the other hemisphere. All the *difference* in flavour in the case of the former is ever

liable to be judged as all *inferiority*. New South Wales port or Australian sherry will never pass muster at the festive boards of the mother country. Under a totally distinct nomenclature, our Australian manufacture will stand upon its own independent merits, instead of vainly struggling for a position under the adopted title of European wines.*

The extent of the pastures of Australia Felix, and the eagerness with which depasturing stations were sought after, while they were still to be obtained without difficulty, had some effect in retarding the extension of agriculture. South Australia, in this respect, took a decided precedence of Port Phillip. Her limited pastures were sooner filled up, and the colonists, turning their attention more generally to agricultural pursuits, have been able already to export wheat in considerable quantity to Britain, to Mauritius, and even to New South Wales. The fine quality of the South Australian wheat has given it a proverbial character

* It has frequently struck me that a cheap and pleasant species of wine, perhaps resembling champagne, might be manufactured from the common water-melon, which grows in such profusion in Australia. I take this opportunity of relating, that on the occasion of my leaving Port Phillip for England in the beginning of the present year, I received from an enterprising fellow-colonist, Mr John Bear of Melbourne, the acceptable present of a few bottles of his "Port Phillip champagne," manufactured, however, from the pure juice of the grape. The wine, which was tested by many parties in this country, proved of excellent quality. Here is a promising commencement. In wishing my friend prosperity for the future, let us suitably distinguish the produce of his labours. We cannot be at a loss for a name: *Bearia* is by no means inharmonious.

both in Britain and Australia. Some chevalier barley, shipped from that colony to Britain in 1845, "was generally considered to be the finest sample of barley ever shown on the London Corn Exchange."* Since the discovery of her mineral treasures, however, South Australia has not progressed in her agricultural operations. The prosperity of this new branch of her commerce, as with the pastoral interests of the adjacent settlement, is now likely to divert attention from the labours of husbandry.†

An important agricultural assistant, to obviate the scarcity of labour, has been introduced with success by the South Australian colonists. The revival of prosperity in that colony brought with it a demand for labour which raised to an unprofitable rate the wages of the workman. Necessity is a powerful stimulant. An agricultural association was formed for the purpose of encouraging mechanical improvements, and Mr Ridley produced his admirable reaping machine in the summer of 1843 and 1844, which astonished and delighted his fellow-colonists by its performances. This machine has since come into extensive operation throughout

* Mr Heath's Letter to the Editor of the South Australian News, 21st November 1845. Several samples of South Australian wheat, lately shown me by the importers, Messrs Dunbar & Sons of London, were considered equal in quality to any of the produce of Britain. I should be glad if these testimonies would serve to stimulate my fellow-colonists of Australia Felix.

† Land under cultivation in South Australia,—

1843,	28,690 acres, including	840	of garden.
1844,	26,907	761	.....
1845,	26,218	631	.....

the colony. It is driven forward by a pair of horses or bullocks pushing from behind, and as it proceeds through the standing corn, the heads of the grain are caught by means of teeth arranged in front in the form of a comb. Where expedition is required, one acre per hour may be accomplished; but the rate of one acre in an hour and a half is the more usual duty. So great is the saving of time and labour effected by this machine, that the cost of growing wheat in South Australia, including all charges of harvesting and conveying to market, is estimated on good authority at so low a rate as 1s. 6d. per bushel.*

The chief agricultural localities of Australia Felix are the banks of the Yarra, the Moonee Ponds, and the Merri and Darebin Creeks in the vicinity of Melbourne, and the Barrabool Hills and adjacent grounds near Geelong. Cultivated tracts of lesser importance are met with in other localities around these towns, also around Portland and Belford to the westward, and at intervals along the Sydney road between Melbourne and Kilmore for a distance of about forty miles. Each of the squatting stations has in general a cultivation paddock, though often sadly disfigured with stumps of trees, and otherwise treated by indolent and unskilful hands. The richest and most extensive agricultural soils are those in the vicinity of Geelong. The Barrabool Hills, of moderate acclivity, and in general free

* Captain Bagot's estimate in a letter to the South Australian Register, January 1845. But Mr Dutton is disposed to raise the amount to 2s. 6d. Dutton's South Australia, p. 218.

from the larger timber, are already covered with farms which yield ample crops of grain and potatoes, and exhibit several thriving vineyards along their northern exposures. The black volcanic soil of the Merri Creek is of a highly productive character, but is cleared only at a great expense from the whinstone rocks and massive gum-trees that are spread over its surface. The winding and varied banks of the Yarra above Melbourne have been cultivated to some extent, and planted with cottages and country seats; and the settlement of Heidelberg, seven miles from the capital, already exhibits an interesting picture, in which the numerous farms and gardens of the colonists are blended with the beauties of the natural landscape.*

The Sydney District of the colony has been occasionally visited with droughts of extraordinary continuance and severity, which have almost totally destroyed both the crops and vegetation of vast tracts of country, and converted the verdant face of nature into a vast sea of dust. Such was the case in 1827, and again in 1838; these respective visitations lasting for a period of nearly three years, during which the occurrence of rain had almost entirely ceased. No such calamity appears to have visited either Port Phillip or South Australia,

* The earliest, and still, I believe, the best garden of the district is that of Mr Fawkner at Pascoevale, on the Moonee Ponds. Mr M'Arthur at Heidelberg, Mr Drummond and Dr M'Arthur on the Merri Creek, and several others in the vicinity of Melbourne, have already formed good gardens. To the westward of Geelong are one or two large vineyards, and several respectable gardens are to be met with in the neighbourhood.

where the seasons have hitherto been sufficiently moist and favourable for abundant harvests. The widely separated tracts where cultivation is now carried on throughout Australia, must have the effect of averaging the casualties of seasons, and of obviating the distress and scarcity which any sudden failure of the crops was wont to create in so remote a quarter of the world.

For the last four years the supply of agricultural and garden produce in Australia Felix has been extremely abundant, and the prices lower than in most other countries. In 1844 and the following year, the four-pound loaf was selling at 4d.; and as the price of beef and mutton during the same period ranged from 1d. to 1¾d. per pound, the cost of living was reduced to a very trifling expense. The loaf has since advanced to 6d. or 7d., and beef and mutton are now about 2d. per pound. These still moderate rates are not likely to be much if at all increased during any season or for any permanent time. The show of fruit is still comparatively limited, as the gardens are as yet but little advanced; but each succeeding year greatly enhances the quantity, and prospectively the district will be abundantly supplied. The grape, the peach, the apricot, the nectarine, the quince, the almond, all the varieties of the plum, are produced in the greatest profusion, along with the cherry, the apple, the pear, and other descriptions common to the mother country.*

* The small or Alpine strawberry bears abundantly, but the same success has not attended the larger varieties. The gooseberry bears well only in some localities.

The rent of farms and gardens, as may be supposed, is in general low. Where fluctuations of commerce and the varieties of soil and situation affect in every degree the value of all landed property, it is difficult to estimate any scale of rents. A cleared field of 100 acres, with a small cottage and garden a few miles from town, may be had for about £40 a-year. The profits of agriculture are in general by no means tempting; but the climate is pleasant, the mode of life agreeable, and the labours of husbandry have always possessed attractions for a considerable proportion of the community. The difficulty now experienced in procuring new pastoral stations will have the effect of directing a larger share of attention to the subject of agriculture.

But the newly arrived colonist must not expect to find in Australia Felix the same air of finish and neatness that characterize a British farm. The well-trimmed hedge and the substantial wall are rarely met with, and are usually represented by *post-and-rail* fences, and by walls of loose stones, both descriptions of enclosure being occasionally in bad repair. Instead of a well tilled and well drained field, the eye often rests upon a negligently scratched surface, a self-sown harvest, and an alternation of stumps and stones scattered in dismal variety over the surface of the property. In the longer settled districts to the north, many of the farms and other private grounds have attained a high degree of neatness and improvement; and the energy and taste of some of the Port Phillip colonists have already succeeded in adorning various agricultural localities, and

extirpating from their fields the remnants of the original wilderness. But indeed the fault of an opposite result is not entirely chargeable to the colonists: the almost uninterrupted high price and scarcity of labour are a serious obstacle in the way of agricultural as well as all other progress and improvement in the colony.

CHAPTER XIX.

GENERAL PICTURE OF THE CONDITION OF SOCIETY.

Penal Character of New South Wales—Disproportion of Females—Materials of the early Society—Effects of the large Proportion of Criminals—Increase of Free Colonists, and progressive Moral Improvement—Diminution of Crime—Defective and encouraging Features of Society—The Press, the Drama, &c.—Intelligence and Liberality of Feeling—Loyalty of the Colonists—Liberal Religious System—Anomalies in Practice—Clerical Rivalry—State Support to Religion—Sects of the Population—Scanty Supply of Religious Ministrations—Education.

THERE are two circumstances which have affected in an important degree the social condition of the Australasian colonies, namely, the penal character of the two principal settlements of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, and the small proportion of females amongst the population. The latter evil was a consequence of the former, arising from the much larger proportion of male than of female prisoners. The remote situation of the colony from Britain has also been a powerful check upon spontaneous female emigration. The Port Phillip settlement, deriving its origin from

these penal colonies, is intimately connected with their social history. The larger portion of its present population was subsequently drawn in a more wholesome stream direct from the mother country; but her proximity and intercourse with her two elder sisters still associates the respective populations by the operations of commerce and the demands of the labour market. The cessation of transportation to New South Wales now permits a beneficial reaction in the state of her society; and the lately expressed doubts of the home government in regard to the continuance of this mode of punishment, afford to Australia generally the promise of a better future.

New South Wales occupied the position of a penal settlement until the year 1840, and received for a period of upwards of fifty years large bodies of the criminals of the mother country, which have been annually incorporated with the population of the colony.* The earliest colonists, if they may be so termed, consisted almost entirely of criminals, and for a long period the numbers of the bond exceeded those of the free inhabitants. The census of the colony for the year 1821 exhibits a population of 29,783, of which the number of the free colonists amounted to 15,969, and that of the convicts to 13,814, the proportion of the latter being rather less than one-half. In 1828, the proportion of the free had

* An order in council of that year, appointing the places to which convicts were to be transported, omits New South Wales from the list. The convicts were afterwards sent chiefly to Van Diemen's Land.

improved in the ratio of 20,930 to 15,668 convict inhabitants, making a total population in the colony in that year of 36,598 souls. But a large proportion of these free colonists consisted of *emancipists*, or convicts who had become free by penal servitude. On the occasion of this census, the emancipist class was ascertained to amount to 7530, included in the free population of 20,930. If we conjoin the numbers of the emancipists with those of the convicts, the proportions are again reversed to a preponderance of the darkness over the light; and the extreme becomes still greater on the criminal side when we reflect that all its members are adults, and that a considerable proportion of the diminished numbers of the purely free inhabitants should still in some sort be deducted in the comparison as consisting of children. Another period elapses in the social history of the colony ere the numbers of the free exceed the united ranks of the *freed* and the bond; and it is only in late years that the proportion of adults of the former class exceeds the numbers of the two latter. In 1841, there were 25,149 prisoners, and 19,395 emancipists, making a total of 44,544 adults of these two classes; while the adult population that had either arrived free or been born in the colony amounted to 49,012.

What could be expected from society founded on such materials! In the transportation which had previously taken place to the American colonies, "the children of improvidence were dropped in by driblets amongst the mass of a population already formed, and were

absorbed and assimilated as they were dropped in."* But in New South Wales the prevailing mass was that of crime. A general relaxation in morals was accompanied by an inordinate love of gain, which spread itself through every class of the colonial society; and the habit of drunkenness was not only unrestricted, but converted into a source of profit by the colonists of the upper classes, and even by such of the civil and military officers as possessed interest or ingenuity sufficient for success.† In 1835, there were 953 individuals registered as qualified jurors for the county of Cumberland, of whom no less than 203 were publicans.‡ The average annual consumption of ardent spirits in Great Britain and Ireland is estimated at about one gallon to each head of the population; but in New South Wales, in the year 1833, the proportion was so high as 4¾ gallons.§ Intemperance has indeed always been one of

* Committee of Commons Report on Transportation, 1838.

† Lang, chap. iii. ‡ Ibid. vol. i. p. 324.

§ This proportion has since gradually decreased, and in 1844 amounted to only 1¼ gallon. Sydney Herald, October 1845. This is a decided symptom of moral improvement. When the two circumstances of a small proportion of females, and a large ratio of adults to the general population are duly allowed for, this consumption is at the least not greater than that of Great Britain. But it must be admitted that an excessive degree of smuggling was shown to be carried on in the colony during the latter period, encouraged by the very high import duties then placed upon all spirits; and an addition of ¾ of a gallon is not probably too much on this account. The prevailing distress during 1843 and 1844 must also be considered in connexion with this reduced consumption, and the moderation indicated for these years is probably not of a lasting character.

the great social evils afflicting New South Wales; and it admits of some doubt whether it would not have been better that the manufacture or importation of ardent spirits should, for at least a period at the first, have been entirely prohibited from this convict colony.

The system pursued by the local government of concentrating large masses of the convicts in the town of Sydney, may perhaps be ranked among the more prominent causes for such a state of society. Instead of being scattered over the country districts, and removed from the contaminating influence of their mutual association, large numbers of the men were employed in towns in the construction of public buildings.* An injudicious system appears also to have been pursued with the female prisoners, who were generally immured within iron gates and solid walls in bodies of 500 or 600 together, instead of being dispersed on the earliest occasions over the country, where they might have had opportunities of obtaining a reputable settlement.†

Another distinguishing feature, already alluded to, perhaps of a still more serious character in the list of

* Lang, chap. iii.

† Ibid. vol. ii. pp. 36, 37. It must be remarked, however, that the accumulating numbers of convicts were at length disposed of with some difficulty in private assignment. In Governor Macquarie's time, when the evil we have mentioned attained its greatest height, the convicts had become so great a drug in the labour market, that a mere pledge to maintain and employ twenty of them would procure a grant of 2000 acres of land. Ibid. vol. i. p. 198.

the social evils of the colony, was the small proportion of the female sex amongst its population. The convicts were chiefly of the male sex; by an estimate of the numbers transported to the colony from the commencement down to the year 1840, there appear to have been only 17 females to each 100 males.* The tide of free immigration to so remote a colony consisted also chiefly of the male sex. In the year 1841, the number of free male to female immigrants then alive in the colony was in the ratio of 100 to about 72.† This proportion, which had previously been still more unequal, is now being gradually adjusted by the natural proportions of the rising generation, which, since the discontinuance of transportation, have been successfully prevailing in the great moral struggle, and substituting a better *materiel* for the old and vicious elements that are now being annually removed from the stage by the slow but effectual process of natural decay.‡

* Mansfield's Analytical View of the Census of 1841, p. 12.

† The following table from Mr Mansfield's Analysis, p. 13, furnishes several particulars for 1841 :

Class.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Deficiency of Females.
Born in the colony,....	14,819	14,630	29,449	189
Immigrants,.....	30,745	22,158	52,903	8,587
Persons transported,...	39,604	6,770	46,374	32,834
Totals,...	85,168	43,558	128,726	41,610

‡ The following table, composed from the census returns of

The present general moral improvement of the colony is illustrated by the fact of the annual diminution of crime. The greater proportion of the offences committed in the colony are attributable to those who either are or who have been convicts; and according as the numbers of this description of the population comparatively decrease, the proportion of crime appears to diminish. It has been estimated, that upwards of two-thirds of the offences committed in Sydney are attributable to persons belonging to this class of its inhabitants,—a view which has been borne out by various criminal statistics.*

1846, exhibits a much more promising aspect than on any previous occasion:

Class.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Deficiency of Females.
Born in the colony,....	31,216	31,220	62,436	+4
Immigrants free,.....	48,899	38,216	87,115	10,683
Totals,...	80,115	69,436	149,551	10,679
Persons transportde,...	32,458	5,404	37,862	27,054
General totals,...	112,573	74,840	187,413	37,733

By the census returns for 1846, the numbers of each sex appear in their natural proportion up to the age of 21, which was not the case in 1841. The number of adults is still disproportionately large to that of children, and the want of family ties still encourages a looseness and dissipation in society; but all these evils are now in rapid process of a thorough cure.

* The number of convictions at the supreme court and court of quarter sessions, Sydney, for the two years ending respectively in June 1843 and 1844, amounted to 627, of which number only 191 were convictions of parties who had either arrived free or been born in the colony.

The system lately adopted at Port Phillip of importing Van Diemen's Land *expirees* to satisfy the urgent necessities of the labour market, appears to be the occasion of an increase of crime, for which, in opposition to the example of the Sydney District, Australia Felix has latterly become conspicuous. The supreme court was established at Melbourne in March 1841, and the following table exhibits the number of convictions, together with the contemporary population of the district, for that and each of the succeeding four years:

	1841.	1842.	1843.	1844.	1845.
Convictions,...	68	63	56	52	77
Population,....	14,000	21,000	24,000	28,000	32,000

The number of the prisoner and emancipist population of Port Phillip is comparatively limited; nevertheless, out of the 77 cases of conviction in 1845 no less than 46 were attributable to this class of the population.

The combination of evils and advantages that result to a colony from its convict establishment has long been a debated subject in Australia, where opinion may be said to have been not unequally divided on the merits of the whole case. New South Wales has derived the most important advantages from this criminal inundation. The large expenditure from the British treasury, the construction of public edifices, the formation of roads throughout the interior, and the plentiful supply of a labouring population to the settlers, have all powerfully contributed to the present forward impetus of the

colony. But here the benefit terminates, and the rest of the scene is enveloped in night. The progress has been that of vice and crime as well as of wealth and commerce; and the convict system has developed, in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, a picture of human nature which, in hardened atrocity and incurable wickedness, has never been exceeded or perhaps equalled among any people that have pretended to the light of civilisation and religion.

Australia Felix, situated in the immediate vicinity of two extensive depots of British criminals, has not escaped the common taint of the colonial population; but the numbers of that class are already far outweighed by the other ranks of her society. The distress arising throughout the country districts from the scarcity of labour, appears, however, to incline a large section of her colonists to give a favourable ear to the contemplated resumption of transportation to these colonies under improved modifications. The effect of habit is remarkable in reconciling the colonists of New South Wales to the intermixture of a criminal population. In the case of South Australia, which has been more fortunate than Port Phillip in avoiding the convict stream, and from the first was colonized direct from Britain, there has always been a decided hostility towards the introduction of criminals, notwithstanding an equal emergency now existing in that colony in regard to the want of labour.

But the security of intercourse and the enjoyment of social life in New South Wales must not be judged

by the dismal results of the criminal calendar of past days, or the minute statistics of a periodical census. The romance and terrors of bush-ranging atrocity have now ceased throughout the colony. The exploits of escaped and desperate convicts are known only in the annals of a state of society that has happily passed away.* Colonial society is divided by a well defined line, which marks off the criminal from the unconvicted population, and is particularly adhered to on the part of the upper classes.† The frequent use of oaths among all classes of the colonists is still a fault, however, which, under the mildest view, is highly inconsistent with good breeding and propriety. The use of wines and ardent spirits is also on a somewhat ample scale, by no means in unison with the circumstances of the

* There is still, however, great room for improvement in the condition of Van Diemen's Land.—One solitary attempt at bush-ranging appeared in the Port Phillip District several years ago, which was promptly and energetically put down by five courageous colonists, Messrs Chamberlain, Snodgrass, and Fowler, the late Mr Oliver Gourlay, and Mr James Thomson, now of Scremerston, Northumberland, who immediately on receiving intelligence started on horseback for the infested locality, a distance of about twenty miles from Melbourne. Assisted by some neighbouring settlers they instantly attacked and overcame the party, consisting of four persons, one of whom was killed in the action. Mr Fowler received a musket ball through the bone beneath the eye. The three prisoners were afterwards executed at Melbourne.

† By the barbarous and promiscuous system of transportation, many of the convicts are persons who should never have experienced this injurious and degrading punishment. In such cases, where any generous principles have survived the gross probation, the line of social demarcation is of course less strictly preserved.

climate. A large proportion of the upper classes in the colony consists of young unmarried men, who have bid adieu to their families and far distant homes, and who, left to their own guidance and resources, are exposed to unwonted temptations. In the absence of the accustomed family circle, they naturally draw to one another's society. Sparkling wit and mutual good feeling adorn this social intercourse; but "the flowing bowl" will occasionally circulate with too protracted devotion among the votaries to the festive god.

But the aspect of British manners, and the influence of British sentiments is every where conspicuous over the general surface. The streets of Sydney are perhaps as well ordered as those of any city of Europe, and in the appearance of Melbourne on a Sunday the religious mind may realize even the solemnity of a Scottish Sabbath. Profanity and vice are occasionally open and undisguised, but in general the turgid mass heaves within its own secluded precincts; nor is there, perhaps, less regard in this colony than in the parent state for personal reputation, virtue, and religion.

The operations of the press in the colonies are usually on an extensive scale. We have already remarked that Melbourne publishes four different newspapers, one of which is now daily, the others twice a-week, with frequent "extraordinaries" on Sydney post days or other occasions of important news. Geelong exhibits one newspaper, and the small town of Portland possesses two. The newspaper in Australia is an engrossing subject. It is read by all. To be ignorant of its intimations is to be severed from the world around you.

Every movement in the social or commercial circles is there recorded—stamped with immortality, and every circumstance excites an interest, where nearly all the members of the small community are more or less known to one another. In the colony the means of purchasing a newspaper are also in a greater number of hands than in places having the same amount of population in the mother country. Advertisements too, which are the principal support of the colonial press, are more extensively resorted to, where supplies of articles of traffic are not always regular, and where there are incessant changes by the arrival of new colonists, the shifting of old establishments, and the general progress of the settlement.

The dramatic muse, in the wide circuit of her wanderings, has embraced the remote location of Australia Felix. The original "Theatre Royal" of Melbourne was a construction of timber, moderate to the last extreme both in its outward pretensions and the garniture of its inward man. But it sufficed for the earlier wants of the community, and served to exhibit some good or amusing amateur performances. A brick edifice has since been erected, of more substantial and ornamental appearance.

The annual races are conspicuous among the sports of the colonists, and usually come off with great spirit. Numerous courses are already established, as at Melbourne, Geelong, Colac, the Pyrenees, Gipps' Land, and other parts of the country. The breed of horses is improving, but is still inferior to that of Van Diemen's Land and the Sydney District.

I shall not be excused by the fairer portion of the colonists, if I omit the fascinations of the ball-room, and the quieter enjoyments of social life, at once animated, adorned, and refined by their inspiring presence. The "quarterly assemblies," maintained at Melbourne by the subscriptions of admitted members, exhibit in general a respectable array of beauty and fashion; and other occasions of the "light fantastic" order of display are by no means unfrequent both there and elsewhere throughout the country. Two large apartments for these and other social and festive meetings have been erected in Melbourne; and no unimportant distinction of the new hotel at Geelong is the surpassing splendour of "the ball-room."

The social intercourse of Melbourne will perhaps be found, by the newly arrived emigrant, of a much more expansive and intellectual character than is to be met with in any town of the same extent in the mother country. Nor is it difficult to explain and account for this circumstance. The natives of each of the different sections of the United Kingdom are here assembled together in one locality, where the mutual communication of various experience and information spreads a broad and practical intelligence and liberality of feeling throughout the social circles. An unwonted proportion of the colonial population belongs also to the middle or upper classes of British society, and many of the immigrants, the younger branches of respectable families, have received a finished education. The varieties of colonial society are still further enhanced by the intermixture of the natives of other colonies or of foreign climes, or

the addition of parties who have acquired a large experience of the world by travelling and observation. In no point of view is the beneficial result of this general association more finely exemplified than in the almost perfect religious harmony and mutual toleration that are exhibited throughout the colony, not only publicly, but also in private life, in the free and amicable intercourse of the members of the different religious denominations.*

Perhaps no social feature is more conspicuous in Australia Felix than the strength of the national and loyal feelings of the colonists. These feelings are of course always strongest in a new settlement, where the ties of birth have not yet extensively relaxed the bond that unites the colonists to their ancestral home. In the case of Australia Felix, out of a population of 33,000 at the last census, 23,600 were natives of Great Britain and Ireland, the remaining portion being chiefly young children. The all-important topic still continues to be the latest news from Britain; and the arrival in the harbour of each successive vessel from the remote but cherished father-land, simultaneously touches a chord

* The census of last year affords the following particulars of the derivation of the Port Phillip colonists:

Born in the colony,	7,583
England,	10,100
Wales,	121
Ireland,	9,126
Scotland,	4,225
Other British dominions,	1,403
Foreign countries,	321
Total,	32,879

in every heart. The days sacred to the respective national saints are generally maintained with the hilarious piety of English usage; the various speeches at the festive board, administered in the stereotyped order and phraseology of a loyal assemblage, still hold in control, by regular and established precedence, the impatient multitude of the local toasts.

The government of New South Wales has latterly placed itself, with regard to the religious interests of the colonists, on a basis of extreme liberality. By an act passed in 1836, "to promote the building of churches and chapels, and provide for the ministers of religion in New South Wales," pecuniary assistance, to a certain limit, is afforded equally to the various Christian denominations, according to the amount of private subscription that is raised in any particular instance.* The act appears to be restricted in its meaning to the various sects professing Christianity. But a liberal view, encouraged by public feeling, is likely to be always taken of its principles and intentions; and as every body of colonists contributes to the colonial treasury, all may perhaps be regarded as entitled under the practical interpretation of this act to a proportionate allowance for its own religious support. The legislative council have already agreed to recommend to the executive an extension of this assistance to the Jews.†

* See Appendix M for an abstract of the Church Act.

† The governor's views were not so liberal; he considered that he had no authority for such an application of the public funds. Still, however, the view acted upon by the legislature is an important indication.

It is hardly necessary to say, that such an open promiscuous system has proved highly offensive to many minds on the jealous subject of religious toleration. Such latitudinarian principles on the part of a Christian government has assumed the appearance of indifference to religious truth, and even a ludicrous aspect in the solemn subject to which it relates. But it must be admitted that the government only suits its regulations to the circumstances in which it has found itself placed. It has to deal with a number of different sects, nearly all of which, comprehending probably a considerable majority of the colonists, are averse to the principle of a colonial establishment. Here are no venerable fabrics of antiquity, no constituted orders, no associations connected with time and place. To originate an ecclesiastical establishment is a more arduous business than to maintain one in a country where it has been already long in existence.*

Under this liberal religious constitution there are still, however, some anomalies in present practice that savour of a state religion, and exist as remnants of the old system. A colonial act of 1825, having reference to the registration of baptisms, marriages, and deaths, confirmed by another act of 1839, ordains, *inter alia*, that "the officiating parish minister" shall keep such registry, and that "other clergymen" shall forward their several registers to such parish ministers.† The

* An attempt of this sort appears to have been one of the exciting causes of the Canadian insurrection.

† I understand, however, that this act has been successfully resisted.

Episcopal Church in the colony, as a direct emanation from the Church of England, maintains in other respects a species of supremacy among the various sects. The bishop is appointed by the queen, and the sees are endowed from the colonial revenue. The Bishop of Australia occupied, until the present year, a seat in the important body of the executive council, which consists of only three other individuals including the governor.* The bishop's see and diocese of Australia has recently been reduced into four sections, namely, the bishoprics of Sydney, Newcastle, Melbourne, and Adelaide. The metropolitan bishop in Australia is subject to the general superintendence and revision of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

While the queen is thus appointing the bishops of the national church, ecclesiastical dignitaries, with similar titles in the colonial Roman-catholic community, are also being nominated by the pope. These apparent invasions on the part of the latter church have occasioned some angry or zealous contests among the respective clergy, but have little disturbed the equanimity of the lay inhabitants. Dr Polding, a Roman-catholic clergyman, who left Sydney for Europe in 1840, returned

* The bishop held a seat in the old legislative council; but Lord Stanley, in his despatch to Sir George Gipps, of September 1842, hints at the propriety of his not entering the new and more popularly constituted assembly. From respect, however, to the personal character of this highly esteemed prelate, his lordship left the matter to his own choice. The bishop did not enter the council. His seat in the executive council was retained until April of the present year, when from similar political considerations he retired from this likewise.

three years afterwards with the title of Archbishop of Sydney conferred upon him by the Roman pontiff. The archbishop shortly afterwards published, in a colonial newspaper, a "pastoral letter," which was headed in the following manner: "John Bede, by the grace of God and of the Holy Apostolic See, Archbishop of Sydney, Vicar Apostolic of New Holland;" the letter being addressed "to the clergy and faithful of Sydney and its environs, health and benediction." This proceeding, as may be supposed, roused the Bishop of Australia, who entered a protest against the claims of the rival dignitary, and addressed a lengthened circular to the clergy of his diocese, summoning them to the support of the Church. The anglican bishop of Tasmania has similarly testified against the Roman-catholic bishop of Hobart Town. I am not aware, however, that any farther notice has been taken of these disputes.

The annual sum of £30,000 is reserved by act of parliament out of the colonial revenues for the support of religion in New South Wales. The outlay for this account in 1845 left an unexpended balance of upwards of £2000;* but under the present liberal system of

* The following is a statement of the appropriation of the amount under schedule C for 1845:

Church of England,.....	£16,507	11	1
Presbyterian Church,.....	3054	16	11
Wesleyan Methodists,.....	1150	2	6
Roman-catholics,.....	7187	19	2
Balance unexpended,.....	2099	10	4
Amount as by Act 5 & 6 Vict.,...	£30,000	0	0

pecuniary assistance on the part of the government, the expenditure must soon exceed the amount of this appropriation, and indeed, as has already been experienced in Van Diemen's Land, may possibly press too heavily upon the colonial resources. This circumstance has not been overlooked. A letter from the colonial office of 31st December 1839, intimates, regarding the prospective support of religious ministrations in Van Diemen's Land and New South Wales, that the present liberal principle could not be guaranteed to continue, if found to encroach too heavily on the colonial revenues. The several denominations are therefore enjoined to keep that contingency in view, and to regard their own respective bodies as the chief source of their religious support.

The limited population of Australia Felix comprises an extensive variety of sects and creeds; and Jews, Mahometans, and Pagans, and "other persuasions," are regularly enrolled with the various christian community, in their respective columns of the periodical census table. But the number of the colonists of all other creeds bears a very small proportion to that of the united members of the christian sects. The Church of England comprises by far the most numerous body of the various denominations throughout these colonies, and in Australia Felix forms about 5-11ths of the christian population. The Roman-catholics, who form a powerful section in New South Wales, rank next in numerical importance in the district, comprising about 2-7ths of

the Christians; while the Presbyterians are rather more than one-fifth. The latter sect is comparatively more numerous in Australia Felix than in the neighbouring settlements,—an extensive emigration to that district having taken place from Scotland. In South Australia there is a remarkably small proportion of Roman-catholics, and a considerable number of Germans of the Lutheran persuasion.*

There are at present sixteen officiating clergymen of the various christian sects throughout the entire district, seven of whom are situated in Melbourne. They are occasionally furnished with means from religious societies of the mother country; but in general the funds for the erection of churches and the maintenance of the clergy are derived from the contributions of the colonists, assisted in both cases by pecuniary allowances on the part of the government, according to

* The following table exhibits the numbers of each denomination in the three principal towns of South-eastern Australia:—

Denomination.	Sydney.	Melbourne.	Adelaide.	Total.
Church of England,.....	17,708	4438	4007	26,153
——— Scotland,.....	3607	1618	350	5575
Wesleyans,.....	1613	783	897	3293
Other Protestants,.....	1936	651	1502	4089
Roman Catholics,.....	11,615	3330	579	15,524
Jews,.....	588	31	48	717
Mahometans and Pagans,	15	10	30	55
Other Persuasions,.....	121	43		164
Total,.....	37,203	10,954	7413	55,570

the number of the church-attendants and the amount of the private subscriptions. The ministrations of religion have been very imperfectly performed in the interior districts, owing to the thin and scattered nature of the population. Throughout the vast tract of the pastoral location, remarks Governor Gipps to the home government in 1844, comprised between Hervey's Bay in lat. 25° S., and the River Glenelg at the western extremity of Australia Felix, extending in a direct line for 1100 miles, there are at present but four itinerating ministers of the Church of England, supported chiefly, if not entirely, by the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts."* The interior settlements now rapidly extend on every side, with a corresponding increase in the numbers of the colonists, among whose remote and isolated population the great interests of education and religion may be said to be still almost entirely in abeyance.

The progress of education in the scattered population of the colony is impeded by the usual difficulty of inducing the various religious sects to act in mutual conjunction. But religious sentiments and prejudices

* The following is the population and commerce of these districts in 1845: (Speech of the Colonial Secretary in Council, 3d June 1846.)

Number of licenses to depasture stock,.....	2,129
Population,.....	18,259
Sheep,.....	4,478,196
Horned cattle,.....	853,783
Horses,.....	23,582

on this important subject are not to be overcome by arguments of reason or expediency. The general system of education has been frequently proposed, in order to educate, by a general association of the children of all religious sects, the scattered population of the rural districts; but the "denominational or sectarian" system continues to prevail in the colony. In 1844, the legislative council recommended the gradual introduction of a general system, adapted from that which has for some time been pursued in Ireland; but this projected innovation, carried only by a small majority, occasioned a wide difference of opinion among the colonists, and was finally negatived by the governor. An attempt to establish an academy in Melbourne for purely secular education has not proved successful.

The colonial government renders assistance to the cause of education on a principle similar in some respects to that which is adopted in the case of the ministrations of religion. The education of those children whose parents are unable to defray this expense, is paid for by the government at the rate of one penny per day for each scholar. The whole contribution never exceeds £25 per quarter to any one school, and is in no case more than the amount of private subscription.* There are at present above 2200 children under tuition throughout

* These are the regulations of 1841. The days for which the government pays are days of attendance only. The regulations are somewhat exceptionable in principle, and furnish opportunity and encouragement for the falsification of returns.

the Port Phillip District. The census of 1846, in addition to the usual particulars on previous occasions, has furnished a copious return of the state of the colonists in regard to their acquirements in elementary education. Out of a population for New South Wales of 187,413 persons, 88,806 were able to read and write.

CHAPTER XX.

BRITISH COLONIZATION; AUSTRALIA FELIX AS A FIELD FOR EMIGRATION.

Opposite Circumstances of the Mother Country and her Colonies—System of Colonization and Emigration—Evils incident to the Modes of Emigration—Good Effects of Government Control—Public Attention directed to the Colonies—Conjectures as to extensive future Emigration—Australia Felix; Description of Labour required, and Rates of Wages—German Emigration—Emigration of Capitalists, and Nature of Colonial Investments—Erroneous Notions of Emigrants.

THE crowded population of the mother country results in distress and starvation to a large proportion of her inhabitants; in her colonies, on the other hand, by far the most usual and permanent difficulty which is experienced arises from the thin sprinkling of the colonists and the scanty numbers of the labouring community. But emigration to the British colonies, which appears so advantageous a course for multitudes of our countrymen, is encumbered with many obstacles. The remote situation of Australia, for example, the expensive outfit, the lengthened voyage, the long and sad farewell of friends and country, must ever exercise a powerful check even upon the adventurous propensities of human

nature; and among the dense mass of the labouring classes of Britain, the want of accurate information as to the nature and situation of the chief fields of emigration, is perhaps in general as great a hinderance to a regular and extensive emigration as the want of pecuniary assistance.

A modern system of colonization, already noticed in our account of South Australia, happily suggests that where a voluntary influx of population is inadequate to the wants of a colony, the funds that arise from the sale of the colonial lands should be employed in the promotion of bounty emigration in order to introduce labourers to cultivate the soil. The purchaser of the land buys also the labour he requires for it, as far as his payment will defray the expense of its introduction.* About a million sterling has already been expended on this principle in introducing a labouring population into New South Wales. But most of this large amount was collected during an era of temporary colonial speculation, when many thousands of acres of land were purchased, some of which have not even yet been applied to any use; and latterly the fund which has been derived from the sale of the crown territories has proved totally inadequate to maintain an emigration sufficient for the wants of the colony. The system, however, is still maintained, and small bodies of British emigrants are occasionally

* I need not here farther detail the Wakefield system, which has made so much noise in the colonial world. Its other provisions are of a less salutary character, at least for the circumstances of Australia, which of all colonies is the least suited to the principle of centralizing the population.

transmitted to the colony at the public expense. The principle of borrowing funds on the security of the land revenues for the promotion of this important object, has been latterly recommended by the colonial legislature; and under an arrangement of this sort, the emigration commissioners in this country have resumed, during the latter half of the present year, a bounty emigration to the colony to the proposed extent of about 5000 persons. A supply of labour on a similar principle is also now being transmitted to the colony of South Australia.

In the former extensive bounty emigration of 1840-42, the selection and shipment of the emigrants to New South Wales had been left in the hands of the private contractors, subject to the approval of government inspectors. In the present instance, the commissioners have retained the selection entirely within their own management. The chief interest of private parties appears from experience to have generally been the expeditious filling up of their vessels, without much reference to the class of persons by whom they were occupied. Nor could official supervision be practically brought to bear as a sufficient check. The workhouses and even the streets were ransacked, and certificates both of character and kindred were systematically forged. In one case, for example, a man and woman, both single,—in another, a mother and her son, had lived on board in one berth, having in both instances been passed off as man and wife. One of the clerks employed in this emigration system appears to have held a conspicuous position for the facility and variety of his devices. He

had "been in the habit of directing single men who applied for a passage to obtain from the streets or brothels, or whence mattered not, the requisite appendage of an unmarried female;" and it seems that in these golden days, "all that individuals had to do was to say that they would go, and this clerk would make it right for them." "Many of the single women," according to the evidence of Mr Merewether, the emigration agent in the colony, alluding to the same system and period, "have been proved to be of notoriously bad character; and many also have been of a class much above that prescribed by the regulations, and in every way unsuited to the present demand in the colony."*

A proposal was made, I believe, by Captain Marryat, that the ships of war, not otherwise employed in the service of the country, should be made available in the transportation of free emigrants to the British colonies. In the case of Australia, the expense of rationing for a four months' voyage, with plain but substantial diet, would not exceed about £6 per adult. But the saving of expense under this projected arrangement is a secondary object in comparison with a saving of more serious import to these colonies, namely, that of moral character amidst so numerous a community of both sexes during a protracted voyage. We have seen that many improper persons were often shipped as emigrants, and it could scarcely be expected that where the moral distinctions were so lax at the outset, they should be better main-

* See Braim's History of New South Wales, vol. i. pp. 204, 210, &c.

tained in the course of the voyage. Large quantities of spirits were sold to the emigrants on board, and a promiscuous intercourse of the sexes frequently occurred to a shameful extent during the passage, sometimes directly encouraged by the captain and surgeon, at others defying the authorities that were disposed to attempt restraint. The parties who were engaged in despatching the emigrants at the shipping ports were also in the habit of living with the females who were awaiting the sailing of the vessels. The stricter discipline of the British navy would doubtless be more effectual in restraining these moral abuses.

Such are the evils and dangers incident to emigration. And yet it appears that Australian emigration has in some important respects been happier in its results than that to the more adjacent colonies of North America. Multitudes of persons, almost in a state of destitution, are incessantly emigrating to these settlements. The usual mode with these passengers is, that the ship shall supply them with water, leaving to themselves the providing of a stock of other necessaries. As very inadequate supplies are thus in many instances provided, it is imperative on the part of the ship, when an emigrant's stock is exhausted, to administer a certain allowance of food. One pound of bread stuffs, the quantity thus enjoined by government, is scarcely sufficient, under the circumstances, to prolong the mere functions of life. The bad ventilation of ships, and the indolence and filth of the emigrants, are superadded to insufficiency of food. Disease and death make sudden and extensive havoc;

and a contaminated multitude is finally ejected upon the colonial shores, enfeebled by disease, destitute, dissatisfied, and shunned as a pestilence by their new countrymen.* The more efficient system of control exercised over the Australian emigration, has in this respect insured results of a very opposite character. While the deaths in the case of emigration to America have been thus fearfully numerous, the proportion of mortality among the Australian emigrants during the voyage has been less than the average on land.† We must not therefore despair of the possibility of insuring, by judicious arrangements for the outward passage, the highest results in the moral and physical health of our emigrating countrymen.

A vast colonial empire is gradually rising up in Britain's name in almost every habitable corner of the earth. The character and doings, the necessities and general welfare of these various offshoots, become a subject of serious inquiry for the parent state. But her own necessities at home, no less than those of her remoter

* Letter from the late Dr Andrew Combe in "The Times" of 24th July last. He suggests, as might be supposed, that there be a larger allowance of food contributed by the ship to destitute passengers, and more stringent regulations as to surgical assistance. Every attention is paid by the government to these unfortunate victims after arrival in the colony; but these evils should be prevented as well as cured.

† An article on this subject in an August number of the Spectator (1847), proposes an excellent system for the regular supply of competent surgeons, who are to be paid by so much per head of the emigrants, and to obtain progressively the charge of larger emigrant ships as they advance in experience or ability.

family, are included in her views and estimates of her colonies. No age of the past has exhibited a social development like the present. A population of nearly thirty millions of souls is enclosed within the narrow limits of the British islands, forming indeed a vast framework of human industry, and producing a prodigious fund for the supply of human wants, but where, nevertheless, multitudes of individuals are ever and anon, by the accidents of society, expelled from the close compacted phalanx, and cast forth in idleness and destitution, in extraordinary contrast with the scene of untiring energy and boundless wealth by which they are surrounded. In exact opposition to this picture are the circumstances of our colonies. The idle, the unemployed, the decayed, the discontented at home, have here a diversified and perhaps a congenial field; and the delicate constitution, pining under the rigours of a British temperature, may select through every latitude a more suitable climate, and still flourish within the circle of British society. The virgin soil of Australia has lain waste since the days of Adam, and at this late hour in the reign of civilisation the finest crops are still produced by the first efforts of the husbandman. Over a boundless area there is yet scarcely the trace of a human being.

The subject of colonization now attracts a large measure of the attention of this country. The unexampled distress in which the population has just been involved has forcibly presented the question to the legislature and the public. The press repeatedly directs its power-

ful battery to the subject, and "The Times" occasionally thunders an alarm, to direct the thoughts of the country to the interests of her colonies. But no plan is yet ventured on. No definite system has yet appeared. The question at present is clouded with difficulty, and perhaps nothing has yet been proposed that is worthy of consideration, or even possible in practice, as a great scheme of national emigration. But an important preliminary is attained; the continuous attention of the public mind cannot fail to result in some practical measure, adapted to the circumstances of our age and country.

It seems a noble experiment, not strange in our colonial annals, and one also that may yet come into extensive operation, and be deemed not unworthy of the highest ranks of our society, for persons of enterprise and substance to engage in expeditions equipped with all the requisites suitable for a small colony, to be founded on favourable locations in the vast world of the Eastern Indies or Polynesia. Here is a new scene of undeveloped resources, where a thousand settlements might simultaneously flourish, mutually assisting one another. Families, relatives, and acquaintance, forming the majority of such an expedition, may transplant to the southern hemisphere the village church and the village school almost entire and uninterrupted in their operations. A system of forbearance towards the aboriginal natives would, in the great majority of cases, lead to their profitable occupation in collecting the natural produce of the country towards the formation

of an export. The results of a colonizing experiment on this principle would shed a new and more cheering light over the hitherto dark picture of British colonization. The late foundation of the new colony in Borneo, and the well merited appointment of Mr Brooke to the situation of first governor of Labuan, exemplify that such enterprises may prove neither unsuccessful in commerce nor unattended with honour and reputation.*

The plan of the origin of South Australia and New Zealand, though partially a failure in the process of development, and attended with incredible vexations and difficulties, should not be overlooked as a future means of extending our colonies, and conveying to a wider field our surplus population. None of the adversities that occurred in these instances was inherent in the subject itself. They were accidents of rashness, inexperience, or ignorance. And yet withal, what is the result? The first is already one of the most promising of the British colonies; and although New Zealand has been peculiarly unfortunate in the differences with the natives, and the dilatory adjustment of the land-question, yet she is now attracting notice, and will undoubtedly prosper. The British character is pre-eminently fitted for colonization. The promiscuous influx of human beings in a new settlement quietly subsides into social order and mutual industry, and promptly develops the various institutions

* On a principle in some respects similar to that alluded to above, a settlement is now being formed at Otago, in New Zealand, chiefly through the instrumentality of members of the Free Church of Scotland.

and the general picture of the parent state. There is usually a full proportion of the educated classes to maintain the national character and intelligence. In this respect the colonial settlements are commonly for some period at first more advanced than the population of towns of the same extent in the mother country. The great requisite is the means of conveyance for the poorer classes. Associations, such as those connected with South Australia and New Zealand, effect this object where the government would have made no attempt. There are here various stimulants to action, that find no place in the busy mind of the statesman, bound up in responsibilities and anxieties which he has no desire to increase. Disappointment and failure of hopes may occasionally prove the result; but yet, in a public point of view, the principal object is attained; and a British colony has been founded, which gradually increases our commerce and extends the boundaries of our civilisation. If one may anticipate the future, to conjecture the mode of accomplishing an adequate emigration, it is perhaps less directly to be effected through the medium of the state than by the great mass of the wealth, and influence, and humanity of the nation, properly associated and supported for this great object, and liberally upheld by the government in regard to delegated power and the administration of colonial territories.

But let us return once more to the proper sphere of our subject,—to a colony already formed, and spreading her hands towards Britain for a share of her surplus

people. Australia Felix is nearly equal in extent to the United Kingdom. Fertile, beautiful, and genial in its climate, it is occupied by a mere handful of population, scattered over the ample surface, enjoying a liberal measure of the necessaries of life, and in nothing more anxious than that the comfortable abundance in which they find themselves placed may be speedily shared by many thousands of their suffering fellow-countrymen.

The description of labour chiefly required in New South Wales is that which is connected with the depasturing pursuits of the interior. The mode of life is frequently solitary and monotonous; but the labour is light, the climate mild, the weather usually clear and pleasant. The married shepherd finds a resource in the society of his family; and personal comforts may be amply secured to all, from the usually high rate of wages, and the overflowing abundance of the necessaries of life.* During an excursion several years ago to the western district, while traversing the extensive plains situated between Geelong and Lake Colac, I encountered a solitary shepherd tending his flock. The day was beautiful and cloudless. It was in the month of June, the winter of Australia, but resembling, in the mid-day sun, the spring or summer of an English climate. The bareness of the grassy flat was relieved only by some

* The customary ration for each man or woman is, per week, 10 lbs. of flour, 12 lbs. of mutton or beef, 2 lbs. sugar, ¼ lb. of tea. Some employers are still more liberal, enormous quantities of butcher's meat being generally consumed by the working classes in the colony; with others there is no limitation.

dwarf and scanty timber, or the prospect of a distant hill; and over the vast expanse not an object, save ourselves and the bleating flock around us, could indicate the presence of man. As I saluted this solitary inhabitant of the visible earth, I could not but reflect on the lonely character of his vocation. He appeared nevertheless to be happy. He had the prospect of a more social future. During a residence of five years in the colony, engaged in his present occupation of a shepherd, he had saved nearly £100 out of his earnings. He had commenced when wages were high, and at first obtained £40 a-year; but his pay afterwards gradually fell to £20, at which rate it then was in 1844. The amount of his savings, however, already enabled him to turn his attention to his native land of the emerald isle, to which he contemplated returning on an early opportunity.

The proportion of labour employed in grazing pursuits in Australia Felix amounts to above one-third of the industrial population; that employed in agriculture to about one-tenth; mechanics and artificers form about one-seventh; and domestic servants rather more than this proportion. So rapid is the extension of colonial commerce in the settlement, particularly with regard to the pastoral interests, that with reference to an adequate supply of labour it has been estimated that each succeeding year requires a constant addition of one-third to the whole labouring population employed during the previous season. The following table illustrates the rates of wages in Australia Felix and the fluctuations to

which they have been subjected, for three different periods during the last seven years. In 1844, partly from the effects of the previous extensive immigration under the bounty system, and partly from the temporary depression of the colony, they had fallen to the lowest rates :—

		1840.	1844.	1847.
Shepherds* per ann.,	besides rations...	£40	£18	£30
Married couples †	do.	50	25	45
Housemaids or girls	do.	25	12	20
Cooks	do.	35	20	30
Men-servants	do.	45	20	35
Warehousemen	do.	50	25	40
Gardeners	do.	50	30	45
Carpenters per day,	without rations.....	9s.	4s. 6d.	7s.
Masons	do.	8s.	4s. 6d.	6s.
Common labourers	do.	6s.	3s. 6d.	4s. 6d.

In no country perhaps is a labourer more readily suited to one or other of the various departments of occupation than in New South Wales. "Great difficulty," observes Sir C. Bagot, with reference to the emigration to Canada in 1841, "had been found in procuring employment for emigrants who came merely as labourers, without any previous knowledge of agriculture, or of any mechanical trade." But every description of able-bodied men, possessed of locomotive powers and ordinary intelligence, may be made useful in Australia.

* Other pastoral labourers who had acquired skill or experience obtained higher rates.

† Without children. But in the present scarcity of labour married couples with several young children readily obtained situations in families or on country stations at £30 or £35 a-year.

The South Australian colonists have been fortunate in attracting to their shores a German emigration. This desirable class of emigrants, in a country producing the grape and other fruits of central and southern Europe, first arrived in South Australia towards the end of the year 1838, by the ships Zebra and Prince George from Hamburg. They were Prussians belonging to the sect of the Evangelical Lutherans, and religious persecution was the primary cause of their expatriation. Those by the Zebra established the village of Hahndorf, so called in honour of their captain, and now containing about 400 inhabitants; those by the Prince George founded the village of Klomzig near Adelaide. Two years ago there were in South Australia five German villages, and about 1500 Germans. Their numbers are now considerably enlarged by a frequent emigration of miners and other labouring population from the port of Bremen. The Germans are rather deficient in activity and enterprise as compared with our own countrymen, but are at the same time more sober and economical, and more morally conducted, no instance apparently having hitherto occurred amongst their community in the colony of any serious offence.*

The German emigrants appear on the whole to have highly satisfied their fellow-colonists of South Australia, who regard with pleasure their continued immigration. In the adjacent colony of New South Wales there is an equal desire for the introduction of these emigrants. The chief difficulty seems to lie in effecting a com-

* Dutton, p. 135-138.

mencement, and making a new locality known through the subsequent communications of those who have been induced to make the trial of the settlement. The Germans are not accessible to the usual influences that prevail in Britain. Publications are of no use. The peasant classes do not read newspapers. They must be moved *en masse*, and attended by their families and their minister of religion. With respect to South Australia these preliminary difficulties have now been entirely overcome. The colony is familiarly and favourably known in Germany from the reports transmitted by friends and countrymen already settled and prosperous; and there are now German schools and churches, and even a German press in operation in the settlement.*

The educated classes, who emigrate from Britain with some portion of capital, generally betake themselves to the pastoral pursuits of the interior. When connexions have previously been formed in Britain,

* These particulars are extracted from a letter I recently received on this subject from Mr Edward Delius of Bremen, the South Australian agent for German emigration. The South Australian Company has afforded valuable assistance to this emigration, by advances of passage-money and other services. Indeed, without some efficient aid of this sort, there is little to be accomplished for New South Wales. I am glad therefore to perceive by late advices from the colony that the introduction of foreign labourers is at length likely to be encouraged by the government, though at first only to a very limited extent. I have given, at Appendix N, a copy of the governor's notice, which is important as a commencement in the right direction. The sanction of the home government, to which of course the projected arrangement is subject, is not likely to be withheld.

they may establish themselves as merchants at the different seaports. But the mercantile department of Australian pursuits is usually more competed than any other, more uncertain in its results, and more exposed to disadvantage from the occasional commercial depressions that overspread these colonies. The field is limited in regard to agricultural pursuits. The emigrant should not be too hasty, on his first arrival, in purchasing land, and expending his capital in farming outfit. The prospect for the sale of Australian agricultural produce in the British market is rather uncertain. The thin population of Australia forms too limited a market to permit of any general attention being directed to articles that are not in the list of the regular exports.

The present prices of live stock in New South Wales are probably very near an average of the range they may for some future period be expected to exhibit in the fluctuations of colonial commerce. A flock of clean healthy young ewes, of good breed, may be had for 7s. 6d. each immediately after shearing, and mixed flocks of sheep, of various age and size, are worth from 5s. to 6s. each. These are the prices of the stock when sold without a run or station, the value of which, or rather of the transfer of such right as the squatting occupant possesses, generally adds about 1s. per head to the price of the sheep. These prices average but a slight advance upon the net produce of the sheep when melted down into tallow; and no considerable decline from the present rates can therefore be anticipated, unless from any great reduction in the price of that article. The British wool-

market, though at present depressed from temporary causes, presents an appearance of prospective promise by the gradual removal of protective duties and other restrictions on British commerce, which operations are likely to be attended for several years with the effect of fully maintaining the current value of sheep notwithstanding their great annual increase.

The Australian emigrant will not find it easy to succeed in this line of business with a capital of less than one thousand pounds.* The emigrant who carries with him the valuable and welcome addition of a large family, is occasionally well suited upon a farming establishment, where the hands of his numerous younger assistants are made available in the department of the garden, the poultry-yard, and the dairy, as well as the commoner operations of agriculture. Australian farms have usually also the accompaniment of a large grazing paddock, which in the vicinity of towns and markets is profitable and convenient to all parties, as a temporary location for the various live stock that pass to and fro in the pastoral transactions of the country. There are frequent opportunities of purchasing farms on terms more favourable, or at least with prospects much more comfortable, than could result from buying a section of land at the

* It cannot be expected that I should detail the best modes in which capital may be transmitted, whether in merchandise or the various forms of cash remittances. Selections of goods fit for the market are no doubt often disposed of to good profit; but if the emigrant is not acquainted with this business, or cannot rely upon the advice of others, he had much better keep his hands clear of what might prove to him both a troublesome and unprofitable speculation.

government rates, and toiling through the various preliminaries of constructing dwellings, and fencing and clearing the virgin sod of the wilderness. The buoyant spirits and activity of youth may realize the romance of such proceedings; but in general the golden tinge of this rustic and primitive existence is merely the effect of a distant view, which is dissipated by closer inspection, and experience of its long continued privations.

All the crown lands that are brought forward for sale are disposed of by public auction and for cash payment.* The upset price is by law never less than 20s. per acre, whatever be the quality or situation of the land; and where the more valuable locations are exposed, this minimum price is generally raised to a higher amount. The surveyed lands of the counties of Australia Felix are distributed into sections, each consisting of one square mile, which are open to the colonists for an annual lease, still under the ordeal of public auction, at an upset rental of £5 per square mile.† The government is in general very accessible to all reasonable propositions for opportunities to purchase land in particular districts of the surveyed portion of the territory.

In conclusion, I may remark, that the hope often in-

* Ten per cent. is paid at the time of purchase, the remainder within a month.

† These sections, however, are already occupied by squatters, who happened to have obtained runs within the counties before they were laid out, and these parties are thus continually exposed either to the expense of outbidding some intending interloper, or to the loss of some section of their station,—a state of things which occasions no small jealousy and dissatisfaction.

dulged in by the emigrant of the rapid acquirement of fortune, and the return to his native country after a short interval of colonial life, is in general a complete delusion. A few individuals have indeed, in the vicissitudes of commerce, realized considerable wealth within a brief period; but this is very far from being a common case, and such wealth is usually acquired at the expense of others, whom the commercial wave, in its retreat, has left in proportionate destitution. The principal recommendation of Australia is the circumstance that steadiness and industry are always sure of some sufficient though not enormous reward; and that diligence and talent will eventually, and within a moderate compass of time, succeed in acquiring a reasonable competence. After a residence of a few years the feelings and associations of the emigrant usually begin to change. Local attachments are formed, which gradually divide his attention with the cherished reminiscences of his native country, and eventually the colony assumes the character of his home. The social attractions are enhanced by those of a climate more grateful to most constitutions than that of Britain; and I believe that few who have resided for eight or ten years in South-eastern Australia are ever disposed for a permanent return to the land of their birth.*

* The reader is here referred to Appendix N, for some important particulars as to the rights of emigrant passengers, lately published by the Commissioners of Colonial Lands and Emigration.

CHAPTER XXI.

TRANSPORTATION AND CONVICT LABOUR.

Penal System in New South Wales—Discontinuance and Alterations—Proposed Resumption of Transportation to the Colony—Conflicting Views of the Colonists—Increase of Convicts sent to Van Diemen's Land—Awful Picture of that Island—New Alterations in consequence—Difficulty of the Subject—Most approved System—View of the old Plan of Private Assignment—Measure proposed by the Legislative Council—Opposition to the Convict System.

The colony of New South Wales, previously to 1840, had occupied the position of a penal settlement for the space of fifty-three years. During this period 59,788 prisoners* had been transported from Britain to this distant shore. The colonial government freely distributed the prisoners, in the capacity of servants, amongst the other population, to whom a supply of labour was thus afforded, that proved highly serviceable in promoting the commerce and agricultural improvement of the colony.

But this system of private assignment, as it was termed, began latterly to be regarded as alike unsuit-

* Namely, 51,082 male and 8706 female convicts.

able to the deserts of a malefactor, and injurious to the moral interests of colonial society. Instructions were issued by the home government, in 1837, for the gradual abolition of this mode of disposing of the convicts; and eventually, in 1840, New South Wales was excluded from the list of penal settlements. A committee of the House of Commons, which sat in 1837, to inquire into the system of transportation, commented in strong terms on the irregular and uncertain character of private assignment as a mode of punishment, and the injurious effects arising to the free colonists from the association of their limited numbers with large bodies of criminals. The committee, who appeared inclined even to an entire discontinuance of transportation as a punishment, recommended that the convicts should at all events be separated from the other population, or restricted to locations where there were no free settlers.

While uncertainty prevailed at home as to the general merits of this question, the colonists themselves, with reference to their own interests, were equally undetermined. They were much divided in opinion as to the comparative weight of the evils and advantages they derived from their association with a penal settlement. The benefits of convict labour, together with the large expenditure from the British treasury, were variously weighed in the general scale against the contaminating vices of a large mass of criminal population. Six years had elapsed since this polluted immigration had ceased, and the colony had visibly improved in its moral and social features. But the want of labour was

soon severely experienced; and although nearly 50,000 persons of the labouring class had been added during this interval to the colonial population, yet such was the rapid extension of the various interests of the settlement, that all had been already absorbed, and in 1846 the employers of labour were once more surrounded with difficulties by the scarcity of its supply.

Such was the position of the colony in 1846 when a despatch of the home government of that year intimated a desire to resume transportation to New South Wales, provided such a measure met with the approval of the colonists.* This announcement, intended to elucidate public opinion, divided the colonial population into two great parties, who respectively sought for and opposed the resumption of transportation. The general result in both districts of the colony appeared to be, that the squatting population, who were the employers of labour in the interior, where its scarcity was chiefly experienced, were favourable to the proposal; while the population of the towns and their vicinity, where the effects of the accompanying increase of crime and social demoralization would be chiefly conspicuous, were as vigorously opposed to the contemplated measure.

* This letter of Mr Gladstone (then Secretary for the Colonies), 30th April 1846, alludes to a "report" that prevailed that New South Wales had been guaranteed against the introduction of convicts. The Sydney Morning Herald (9th October 1846), a paper which has taken a decided stand against the threatened evils of the resumption, clearly proves the guarantee, both from a despatch of the Marquis of Normanby in 1839, and from the order in council of the following year.

A committee of the legislative council was appointed to inquire into and report upon this important subject; and the conclusion arrived at by that body was to the effect, that the proposal made by the British government of a carefully conducted system of transportation to the colony should be accepted, under certain conditions as to collateral benefits detailed in their report, and a transfer of the management of the prisoners. The committee, however, did not fail to hint that, surrounded as New South Wales then was with convict establishments, namely, Van Diemen's Land to the south, and the incipient penal settlement of North Australia in the opposite direction, it appeared in a practical sense that they were left simply to choose that the colony should have the benefits also as well as the evils of a convict population, by consenting to a direct importation, instead of a circuitous stream by way of the adjoining settlements.

Prior to 1840 there were four different colonies appointed for the reception of British criminals under sentence of transportation, namely, New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land, Norfolk Island, and Bermuda.* The great proportion of these offenders was poured into the two former settlements; the two remaining establishments being conducted on a comparatively limited scale, for the probation of certain selections of the convicts, of whom the better class were sent to Bermuda,†

* Transportation Report of the Commons, p. iv.

† In 1837, their numbers amounted to about 900. They are kept apart from the free population, and worked in gangs by

and the more depraved to Norfolk Island, a dependency of Van Diemen's Land. Subsequently to 1840, the criminal stream which had flowed into New South Wales was directed into the adjacent colony of Van Diemen's Land, which had now become the general receptacle for nearly all the transported criminals of Britain. Each succeeding year accumulated the force of the vicious torrent which spread like a pestilence over the country. From the beginning of 1841 to the end of 1844, seventeen thousand convicts were landed from Britain in Van Diemen's Land; and the numbers of the free colonists were far outweighed by the proportions of the freed and the prison population.*

In order to employ the convicts thus accumulated in Van Diemen's Land, it became necessary to alter the system of management; and the criminals were usually formed into large gangs, which were placed in the towns and upon the highways throughout the island, in the execution of various public works. The effects of such a system were not foreseen. They have proved terribly disastrous, and developed scenes of atrocity and abandoned wickedness, which have spread a dark shade over the picture of human nature. The

themselves; and, after acquiring their freedom, are sent back to the mother country. Transportation Report, p. x.

* On 1st January 1843, the total population of Van Diemen's Land amounted to 57,420, of whom 20,332 were prisoners, the remaining 37,088 consisting of emancipists, children, and a reduced proportion of adult free colonists. During the two succeeding years, 1843 and 1844, 8469 prisoners were added to the population.

probation gangs have been emphatically denounced "an accursed system," where every lingering vestige of principle was merged in the immense mass of surrounding villany, and where any shadowy appearance of goodness proved to be a mere delusion of pretence, cunning, and hypocrisy.* Such is the result of this herding together of criminals, and of large bodies of the male population. The hardened depravity acquired by the mind under these circumstances is powerfully illustrated in a case that occurred at the penal settlement of Norfolk Island, where several men, while engaged in field work, had deliberately cut the heads of their fellow-prisoners with their implements, apparently without any adequate motive, and with the certain prospect of detection and punishment.†

How striking is the physical with the moral contrast in these settlements which have thus been selected as the reservoirs of human crime! The fertile fields of

* Report of Committee of Legislative Council, 1846. "What wonder then," says the report, "that societies thus constituted should have become a mass of festering infamy, and the hotbeds of a nameless and horrible crime, too deeply rooted, and too widely spread, for the repressive powers of the criminal judicature of the land."

† Transport Report of Commons 1838, p. xv. Indeed to such a despair of wretchedness were the criminals reduced, that there were good grounds for considering that occasionally the principal motive in such cases was the intense desire to escape from their miserable society, though the change or respite thereby obtained were merely a conveyance to Sydney for the purpose of being tried and executed. These circumstances occasioned, in 1834, the establishment by act of Parliament of a court of criminal jurisdiction in the island.

Tasmania are variegated by the romance of her mountain scenery; and the luxuriant vegetation of Norfolk Island, diversified by her noble and peculiar forest pine, flourishes in a climate unsurpassed for its constant mildness and salubrity. The language of the poet is realized to the mind in contemplating the varied landscape:

> Land of the myrtle, the rose, and the vine,
> Where the flowers ever blossom, the skies ever shine,
> And all but the nature of man is divine.

The Van Diemen's Land colonists, deeply affected by this condition of their country, and still more by the increasing adversity of her future prospects, have earnestly protested against a continuance of so unhappy a system, and prayed for the gradual and total abolition of transportation to their colony.

The intelligence received of the condition of Van Diemen's Land created a powerful impression on the mind of the British public. Most of the arrangements then in force had been suggested to the government in 1842, chiefly by well informed colonists.* So disastrous a result was altogether unexpected. Immediate remedial measures were however adopted. Further transportation to Van Diemen's Land was for the present prohibited; and the lieutenant-governor of the colony was enjoined to employ the speediest and most effective means for accomplishing a radical alteration in the general convict system.†

* Lord Stanley in House of Lords, 3d March 1846.

† Mr Secretary Gladstone to Lieutenant-governor La Trobe, 16th May 1846.

The inherent difficulties of the subject, and the necessity of finding some outlet for the number of criminals usually sentenced to transportation, appear to have occasioned some uncertainty on the part of the government as to their future plans with reference to this subject, increased probably by the late repeated ministerial changes. A great accumulation of unemployed convicts had also taken place in Van Diemen's Land, amounting at one period to nearly 10,000 persons. Arrangements had therefore been in progress for the establishment of a new penal settlement to the north of the Sydney District, to which it was proposed to forward Van Diemen's Land probationers under conditional pardon, who had not obtained employment, and also such British criminals, sentenced to transportation, as had passed an approved probation prior to their departure for the colony; and these parties were to have been assisted with pieces of land, agricultural implements, and various necessaries to give them a commencement in the world. Other contemplated plans had been previously put into partial execution with relation to a lighter description of offenders, under the denomination of exiles, who after a probationary process at home were to be transported to Australia, and left there in freedom to their own resources.* But the transportation question continues altogether undecided.

* Several hundreds of these parties have arrived in Port Phillip, and I perceive that they are still being sent out. They were, I understand, much superior in conduct and usefulness to the convicts.

The projected colony of North Australia has just been abandoned, and the government, awaiting the results of more extended inquiry, are engaged for the present in meeting the necessities of the day by a system of penitentiary probation and the transportation of exiles.

However the colonists may differ in their views of the comparative advantages and evils of a convict establishment, they appear to be agreed in opinion, that under a convict system the plan which is most advisable is that of the greatest mutual separation of their numbers. The assignment system, by which alone such a plan can be effectually carried out, came into bad repute from the negligent manner in which it was administered by the colonial government. Little or no attention appears to have been paid to the character of persons to whom prisoners were assigned, or to the moral or religious training of the convicts during the period of their assigned service. The greatest abuses prevailed, and the depraved passions of human nature appear to have had free scope, and to have seriously disordered the fabric of society. It cannot indeed be expected that under any system of management the social structure should be very secure when charged with such a criminal burden. Nevertheless, if transportation be henceforth maintained in the criminal calendar, the system of private assignment has been generally pronounced the most advantageous mode in which, for their own reformation and the welfare of the colony, the criminals can be disposed of. More stringent regulations and a better condition of society will remove

many of the evils that resulted from the old system. Scattered far asunder over the vast interior, occupied in pastoral labour, and kept aloof from the vices inherent to more crowded society, the criminals undergo a species of secluded probation, which in most cases may be effectual for some degree of improvement. They should be confined to particular country districts, subjected to periodical musters, and scrupulously prevented from any permanent residence in towns.*

Under the old practice, the convicts, as soon as they arrived from Britain, were assigned among the various applicants.† The servant thus assigned was bound to perform diligently, from sunrise till sunset, all usual and reasonable labour; and in cases of drunkenness, insolence, or disobedience, he received summary punishment, in various limited degrees, by the award of the local magistrate. On the other hand, the master was engaged to feed and clothe his servant in a proper manner; and any instances of gross treatment disqualified him for the future as an assignee of convict labour. Such was the process of the *first stage* of the convict's probationary career. If transported for seven years, his probationary period was four years; if under a fourteen years' sentence, it was six years; if trans-

* Report of the Legislative Council, 1846.

† Each colonist rarely received more than two of such assigned servants out of one vessel. It was customary for the assignee to pay £1 for each of his convict servants, as a consideration for the clothes he wore, which had been furnished by government. The female prisoners were first transferred to the factory at Paramatta.

ported for life, the term was extended to eight years; and during these respective periods the assigned servant received no wages.

Having passed over the first stage with approval, the convict entered on the second—*the ticket-of-leave.* He was now free to choose his own employer, and to demand the highest wages he could procure. But he was still subjected to some degree of restraint. His freedom was restricted to some particular district, where he was compelled to show himself at periodical musters; and he was still liable to summary jurisdiction, as formerly, even for offences which might be permitted with impunity in free settlers. The second stage lasted for six years, and was followed by a conditional pardon, which exempted the holder from the summary jurisdiction, and was in fact the termination of his bondage.*

The moral condition of a penal settlement must generally be proportioned to the comparative extent of the free and the criminal population. The effects of a convict immigration must therefore be less injuriously experienced where it is accompanied by a simultaneous influx of free settlers in order to maintain the ascendency of the virtuous or non-convict over the criminal population. Such are the principles upon which the committee of the legislative council have founded their views. They premise that the colony is already so

* These details of the assignment system are extracted chiefly from the able and interesting report which emanated from the Select Committee of the Legislative Council of New South Wales, 1846, on the subject of the resumption of transportation.

beset with penal settlements, that, whatever may be the opinion of the colonists, escape from convictism appears to be impossible; and therefore "they are willing, as a mere choice of evils, to submit to a renewal of transportation." But they stipulate that for every male convict there shall be sent out two free colonists at the expense of the British government, upon which conditions, "and no other," their accordance is secured.*

The subject of the resumption of transportation subsequently became a violent party question throughout the colony. The evil was admitted by all, but the necessity of such an alternative was disputed. The colony had been accustomed to convict labour, had risen by its assistance, and could now with difficulty sustain its loss. I therefore record with the greater satisfaction, that amidst the rival meetings of the colonists to debate this absorbing question, the "anti-transportationists" seem decidedly to have carried the day in both districts of the colony. Habit may reconcile the mind to association with crime, but cannot alter its character or restrain its effects upon society. The system may possibly prove salutary to the mother country: In the absence of transportation what are we to do with our criminals, exclaims the embarrassed colonial minister. True this is a difficulty which, in common with many others pertaining to sublunary affairs, is not readily adjusted. There will always be

* These conditions are not likely to be attended to; but as the colonial reader may feel interested in the subject, they are briefly given, with the views of the committee, in Appendix Q.

crime where there is human nature. Australia was originally a penal settlement, and this view of the argument may be urged against the colonists. The contention, however, is not, we trust, to be decided by the application of law. This is a question of the welfare of society, whose moral interests must deplore the resumption of transportation to the Australian settlements, already too severely tried by this ordeal, and still suffering and uncured.

CHAPTER XXII.

TRANSPORTATION AS A PUNISHMENT.

Origin of Transportation and Penal Settlements—Condition and Employments of the Prisoners—Evils of the System—Insufficient Discrimination of Offences receiving Sentence of Transportation—Political and other casual Offenders—Limitation and final Abolition of Transportation as a Punishment—Penal Reformation at Home—Question of the new Plan of transporting juvenile and destitute Criminals—Bad Effects of Criminal Inundation upon the limited Population of the Colonies.

THE punishment of transportation appears to have existed in England for a period of nearly two centuries. It was founded on that of exile, and differed at first from the present system in the absence of compulsory labour. But that additional penalty was soon after imposed upon the offender. An act of the reign of George the First gave to the party who contracted to transport the criminals a property and interest in their services for the period of their respective sentences; and they were even exposed to auction, and their services thus disposed of for these periods. The British possessions in America formed the earlier destinations of transported offenders. But subsequently to the revolt of these settlements, it was deemed advisable to form a new

colony, intended at that time for the sole purpose of receiving transported criminals; and in 1786, the eastern coast of Australia and the adjacent islands were accordingly selected.*

Until within a very recent period the condition of the transported criminals appears to have excited little or no attention on the part of the British public. In departments of national business which are removed from the public eye, the negligence and apathetic feeling induced by habit and official routine may retain the grossest abuses in the midst of an age of the most active humanity. An apt illustration is furnished in the condition and treatment experienced by the convict during the outward passage to Australia, whose circumstances have only lately been altered and improved. During a voyage that generally exceeded a period of four months, the prison deck being quite dark, neither employment nor instruction could be carried on, and four and sometimes five of the prisoners were crowded together in one sleeping berth. A separate sleeping place is now allotted to each of the prisoners; their quarters are lighted and furnished with tables and seats, books are supplied, and a religious instructor accompanies every party of the male convicts.† The condition of Norfolk Island, and

* Report of the House of Commons, 1838, pp. 3 and 4. A committee of the Commons, which sat on this subject in 1785, recommended the establishment of the convict colony on some location of the coast of South-western Africa, between Angola and the Orange River.

† Report of the Inspectors of the Milbank Penitentiary, August 1846.

more particularly of Van Diemen's Land, has at length aroused public attention and the efficient notice of government, which, though for the present resulting merely in conflicting opinions and uncertain and temporary arrangements, will doubtless eventually subside into some solid advantage to the interests of humanity.

It has been a favourite theory to employ the convicts as the pioneering outposts of colonization. Formed into gangs and labouring upon roads and other improvements, their punishment was more equal and certain than under the accidents of the assignment system. But the experience recently acquired of the evils resulting from this method, and its total hostility to the amendment of the prisoner, must for ever exclude it from usage among a christian people. The same objections are liable to the views at one period entertained of forming colonies exclusively of a penal character. This plan appeared indeed so little desirable, that only a few years after the foundation of the penal establishment of New South Wales, bodies of free emigrants began to be despatched from Britain at the public expense, at the recommendation of the governor, to the new settlement.*

Two great evils characterize the convict system under its present arrangements.† 1. The dreadful depravity of human nature which has been developed by the gang

* Lang, vol. i. p. 42.

† I have already mentioned, in the preceding chapter, that these arrangements are in course of alteration, but as yet apparently with undecided ultimate views.

system; 2. The great and unmanageable accumulation of criminal population in the Australian colonies. For the first of these evils, the cure must be sought in the adoption of the dispersive system which attends the assignment of the convicts to the colonists who occupy the country districts. The second is occasioned by the indiscriminate mode in which sentence of transportation is passed on all varieties of crime and of criminals.

The average number of offenders who are at present annually sentenced to transportation from England and Wales may be estimated at 4000, or about one-fifth of the total number of convictions for these countries.* A great variety of grades of offence is here comprehended, and distinguished only by a different duration of the period of banishment. The most atrocious villains have been transported in promiscuous association with parties

* The following table furnishes a general view of the number of convicted offenders in England and Wales, and their sentences, for the years 1840-1844:

	1840.	1841.	1842.	1843.	1844.
Sentenced to death,...	77	80	57	97	57
— transportation,	4,305	3,800	4,197	4,163	3,320
— imprisonment,	15,110	15,747	17,871	16,275	14,969
Whipped, fined, and discharged,.....	632	653	601	531	566
Totals, ...	20,124	20,280	22,726	21,066	18,912

Transportation is more rare in Scotland, and only for very grave offences. The total average number annually transported from Great Britain and Ireland is probably very near the quantum fixed by the committee of the legislative council, namely, 5000 males and about 1000 females.

who have been concerned in duels, or convicted of maintaining and acting upon various political opinions. Those whose crimes are the first occasion of offence, or who have been seduced by casual or peculiar circumstances, are made the companions of repeated and hardened offenders; and the same punishment is awarded in cases of poaching,* of receiving for the first time articles of stolen property, and even of following the natural dictates of humanity in harbouring criminals from justice. All descriptions of offence are doubtless liable to be dealt with at the hands of justice. But the humanity of the age has adopted the view that the punishment of a criminal should consist in a process that may also effect his reformation. To award to the various parties convicted of these offences the indiscriminate punishment of transportation to Australia, to associate with depraved and abandoned criminals a class of men concerning whose future career there must in general be still much to hope for, is at once to make shipwreck of any remnant of virtue they may possess, and render them incurably depraved by the process intended for their reformation.

That any general description of political offenders should be punished by the present system of Australian

* The steps of modern legislation are generally in the proper direction when they are once taken. "13. Resolved that it is the opinion of this committee, that no person convicted of night poaching, under the first sect. of 9 Geo. IV. cap. 69, whose offence is unattended by circumstances of aggravation, should be subjected to the punishment of transportation." Report of Committee of Commons on the Operation of the Game Laws, July 1846.

transportation is a glaring defect in the laws of a civilized and humane people, which is to be accounted for only on the supposition of a total ignorance, on the part of the British public, of the misery and degradation to which they are likely to be subjected. Goaded by a sense of the unmerited degree of their degradation and sufferings, such offenders are apt to prove the most troublesome and dangerous, and even to appear, under the tabular rules of a penal settlement, in the light of the worst of criminals. The only mutiny that has occurred among the convicts took place in the beginning of the century at the instigation of several of their number who had been concerned in the Irish rebellion.* Let us contemplate the contrarieties that accidents might produce under a system so promiscuous and a punishment so frequently unsuitable. Frost and his chartist companions were banished some years ago to Van Diemen's Land, where they are still detained. In the possible extremes of political change, as in the similar case of the celebrated Scottish delegates towards the end of the last century, their crimes may be viewed, in some future age, as the misfortune of a temporary condition of society, and the basis of their future fame. The Canadian rebels of 1837, who were transported to the same general receptacle, might have proved victorious in the struggle, and have risen to high honours

* Lang, vol. i. p. 88. This strike for liberty, which occurred at Castle Hill, was soon quelled by the military, who shot several and hanged some others on the spot, the rest quietly returning to their duty.

in a new republic; and at an earlier period, when a more successful result attended a similar undertaking, the accident of a contest might have exhibited Franklin or Washington attached to the gangs of a penal settlement, or in the supreme authority of a great and enlightened people.

Transportation, as at present conducted, is a punishment that falls with most terrible and fatal effect upon those individuals who are least deserving of it. "Generally speaking, it is most dreaded by those offenders against the laws of their country who may be termed accidental criminals; that is to say, by persons who have not made a trade in crimes, but who have been induced to commit crime by the impulse of the moment, or by some accidental combination of circumstances, or by some all-powerful temptations, and who may, in many cases, be possessed of good moral feelings." * Such must not be cast adrift with the general mass of villany and corruption. Under the present system of transportation, the ignorant and thoroughly depraved, the repeated and incurable offenders, are the persons most fitted for that punishment, and perhaps the only class who are likely to be improved or at least not rendered more debased by its probationary processes. In considering the case of the criminal, individual instances may suggest difficulties, where no line of demarcation can broadly separate the differences of human character; but it must always be easy to effect a great improvement on the present system,

* Report of Commons, pp. 19, 20.

By restrictions founded on these general principles, the number of British criminals annually transported may probably be reduced to one thousand, or about one-sixth of the present average numbers transported from the United Kingdom. Even this number, however, cannot be received, year after year, into the limited population of a colony, without a serious deterioration of the composition of its society. Great and general efforts are now being made in Britain and other enlightened countries for the amelioration and improvement of criminals by systems of penitentiary probation at home, and subsequent employment after their discharge. There is therefore ground to hope that it may be found practicable erelong to effect a total abolition of the punishment of transportation. It is in some important respects a convenience for the British public. Thousands of troublesome and incurable offenders have been annually removed from the community to a remote region of the world whence they rarely return; and even under this expensive locomotion the country has experienced a saving by the cheaper rate of living and the value of the manual services of the prisoners during their term of bondage in the penal colony. So far, therefore, as the mother country alone is concerned, transportation may possibly be defended as a desirable system. The evidence of the judges of the criminal courts is generally very strong for its continuance. They declare that with respect to the crimes that are now visited with that sentence, they are not prepared to

substitute any other similarly efficacious punishment.* But the criminals thus expelled from their country cannot be disposed of without inflicting injury elsewhere. Every society contains its own proportion of malefactors, which it is undoubtedly the duty of each to provide for within itself.

The penal system at home is indeed as much in need of reformation as that which has been pursued with regard to penal colonies. The great fault has been, in both cases, that the punishment has not been of a character to improve the criminal. He has usually gone forth from the process of expiation in a worse condition than before. The result of the searching inquiries of the present day exhibits on every side fundamental errors in penal practice. All testimony appears agreed that the system of short imprisonments for petty offences, which is dealt out to such multitudes, more especially of the young, is both useless as a punishment, and attended with a hardening effect on the mind of the offender. The reports from the larger Scotch prisons particularly point at this evil. Many of the juvenile delinquents have been repeatedly committed in this manner, and the hour of their liberation is usually the recommencing period of their crimes. Many persons are also imprisoned, who, as exhibiting no moral guilt, should never have been brought within the contaminated precincts of a gaol. For example, a

* Evidence lately published by the Committee of the Lords on the Criminal Law.

recent report of the Edinburgh prison mentions the case of two young women, respectable servant girls, who were committed for beating carpets in the streets at an improper hour. In another case, two boys ten or twelve years of age had met the same fate for pulling some beans in a field,—"an offence," remarks the Lord Provost of the city, who records the circumstance, "of which when I was a boy I was more than once guilty; and if the same judgment had been meted out to me, I might have been ruined for life." The inspection of a number of prisons in Scotland gave 40 per cent. for recommitments. In Glasgow, 287 persons who had been previously committed, were ascertained to have undergone in the aggregate 2198 committals. Taking the average duration of their terms of imprisonment at sixty days, the aggregate expense to the country of the prison maintenance of these 287 persons amounts to £5054, exclusive of the still heavier expense of prosecution, police, and plunder.

New methods are now proposed in dealing with criminals. More careful, minute, and tedious than the summary proceedings under the old system, they may also be found in the end to be not more expensive, possibly much less so, and immeasurably more efficient in arresting the career of repeated and aggravated crime. A full tide of public attention now bears upon this all-important subject. The plan of the separation and seclusion of the prisoners appears to have been attended with more promising results than any other hitherto generally adopted. The new mode of the

"mark system," applied with some success by Captain Maconochie, among even the depraved felons of Norfolk Island, is also proposed to be introduced into this country. The distinguishing feature in this case is, that the sentence is not one of time, but of amount of labour, which gives the prisoner a precise and direct interest in his industry and good conduct during the period of punishment,—a system which has the pre-eminent advantage of being adapted to human nature.*

Much attention has been directed in modern times to a grand evil that affects our crowded state of society, namely, the vast and apparently increasing extent of juvenile depravity. Children, reared in neglect and destitution, throng the streets of our larger cities, and by bad example and their own necessities are gradually drawn into the vortex of crime. Through the pressure of circumstances many have thus fallen who in a better field might have benefited society. The attention of philanthropists with regard to this class of our population is directed to the wide and promising field of the colonies. "The proposal is," says a recent and talented writer, "not to transport criminals by way of punishment, but to assist juvenile delinquents who have passed through a penitentiary, and to whom no extraordinary degree of depravity can be imputed, in emigrating to a country where they have a fair chance of becoming useful citizens."† This is a new view, at least in modern times, of the subject of transportation. It has already

* See Blackwood's Magazine, Dec. 1846, p. 725, &c.

† Laing, Atlas Prize Essay, part iii. chap. ii.

been acted upon to a limited extent with respect to the Australian settlements. As an untried scheme, it is perhaps impossible to predict its results. Had transportation been commenced and continued from the first under such a plan, it is not improbable that the effects might have proved even highly satisfactory, certainly to the mother country, and probably also to her colonies. This result might have appeared more particularly in Australia, where the aboriginal population give no assistance to the labour market, and where, with a constant demand for labourers, every individual capable of service may find employment. But this part of the world is already too heavily charged with a criminal population of a far worse description. In other British settlements, unskilled or indiscriminate labour of this sort is now perhaps less available than in earlier times, and a considerable population and a formed society may now dread so extensive and doubtful an experiment on its future welfare. The introduction of the exiles to any other than the Australian colonies will probably be met by the most strenuous opposition.*

The vast surface of British society is scarcely ruffled by the comparative sprinkling of its criminal population; but were any considerable proportion of these criminals

* Even in South Australia, though that colony is adjacent to penal settlements, so strong is the opposition to every description of criminal immigration, that when the home government projected sending the exiles there also as well as to New South Wales, it was conjectured that if any landing had been attempted, the colonists would have actually attacked and driven back the obnoxious inundation.

to be regularly poured forth year after year among the limited numbers of the colonial population, the parent state might discover, after the lapse of no great interval of time, that she had conveyed a social pollution to every settlement she possessed. As a measure of amelioration, it were infinitely more commendable, though perhaps in a pecuniary sense more expensive, to organize, in conjunction with colonial resources, some great system of emigration for the unemployed and non-criminal poor to the various colonies. By continuous national efforts directed to this great object, the time may yet come when every individual desirous of emigrating from the crowded ranks of his native land to one or other of her remote plantations, may find himself enabled to reach the country of his new adoption.

CHAPTER XXIII.

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY OF NEW SOUTH WALES.

The Port Phillip District under the Government of New South Wales, but with a local Administration—Dissatisfaction and Desire for Separation and Independence—Present and former Legislative Councils—Municipal and District Councils—Vigorous Operations of the Legislature—Various Acts and Debates of Council: Liens on Wool and Mortgages of Live-stock; Commercial Restrictions; Parliamentary Agent; Expense of Criminal Administration; Management of the Crown-lands; Administration of the Colonies.

THE legislative history of Australia Felix is that also of the extensive colony of which it forms a part. The city of Sydney continues to be the head-quarters of the colonial government; but the rising importance of the Port Phillip District, and its remote distance from that metropolis, demanded at an early period the convenience and benefits of a local administration. A superintendent was appointed in 1839; most of the usual officers of the official staff were gradually appended; and in 1841, the supreme court of Port Phillip was opened under the auspices of a resident judge.*

* The salary of the superintendent was at first only £800

But the powers of this local administration are exercised within a very contracted sphere; and the patriotic colonists of the southern district have long sighed for a larger measure of independence, and a separate government. These feelings of dissatisfaction have been stimulated by the repeated infliction, on the part of the elder settlement, of a wound of a tender character in the estimation of every Englishman, and reversing the well-known testimony of the poet as to the insignificance of mere pecuniary injuries. For several years the Sydney District has appropriated a considerable surplus of the Port Phillip revenues. The accounts of the two divisions of the colony are each separately exhibited with the most scrupulous distinctness in the periodical statements of the colonial measurer; but the treasury itself exhibits only one common and indistinguishable fund, collected from all parts of the colony, and again expended among the various localities, according to an estimation, framed at head-quarters, of their several wants and necessities. In this distribution it is alleged by the colonists of the younger settlement, that their locality has not obtained an adequate share; that, in short, to exemplify the vulgar saying, "out of sight, out of mind," it has commonly appeared at the seat of government that, with regard to Australia Felix, the requirements of so remote and promising a district have borne, to her great credit, but a small proportion to the amount of her annual revenues. It was not perhaps to

a-year. It is now £1500 a-year, and that of the judge the same. The salary of the governor at Sydney is £5000.

be expected, with reference to the wishes of the Port Phillip colonists for an independent government, that the views of the two districts of the colony should coincide. The legislative council, of whom six only out of thirty-six members pertain to Australia Felix, could not be induced to recommend the proposed dismemberment; and this long cherished prospect is still unattained. *Separation* is a watchword at Port Phillip; the conversation of every hour, a favourite channel for the flow of eloquence, and an expansive subject at the public meeting and the festive board. The earnestness and unanimity with which this object is pursued are rarely displayed on business of a merely public character; and I shall scarcely be forgiven by my fellow-colonists for dismissing in a single paragraph a subject which has incessantly occupied their minds, and filled their volumes and newspapers with every aspect of argument, demonstration, and remonstrance.*

But I have anticipated this part of my subject, and must return to the legislative history of New South Wales. The penal character of the colony has been the occasion of a very tardy development of the usual

* I believe that the desired separation is now at no great distance. When nothing could be done in the matter by the council, the six Port Phillip members, by a happy suggestion of one of their number, Dr Lang, united in forwarding to the queen an address of their own, praying for the separation of the Port Phillip District,—a measure that appears to have at length attracted the attention of the home government, which has responded so far as to order an inquiry on the subject. See Appendix Q for future boundaries of the proposed colony of Australia Felix.

constitutional privileges of British settlements. There were by a recent estimate upwards of forty different British colonies; of which number twenty-five have already received the privilege of a representative legislature, whose population is in several instances extremely limited as compared with that of New South Wales.* In the year 1824, a legislative council, consisting, however, exclusively of the chief officers of government and nominees of the crown, was established in Sydney, for the advice and assistance of the executive administration.† By an act of parliament of 1842,‡ the colonists at length received an enlargement of their constitutional liberties; and in August of the following year, a legislature, composed chiefly of popular representatives, first assembled for public business in the Australian capital. The colonial population then amounted to about 165,000. This representative body, which continues to the present time, is constituted of thirty-six members, of whom one-third consists of officers of government and nominees of the crown, the remaining twenty-four, including six representatives for the Port Phillip District, being elected by the choice of the colonists.§

* Mr Hume, in House of Commons, 14th August 1846. Twelve other colonies had applied for the same boon, including Van Diemen's Land. Mr Hume estimated the total number at forty-two; Sir Robert Peel, for the same year, at forty-five.

† Instituted by act of parliament 4 Geo. IV. cap. 96, 1823, and announced in the colony in August of the following year. The population was then about 32,000, of whom, however, there were only about 18,000 free. ‡ 5 and 6 Vict. cap. 76.

§ See Appendix R on the Constitution of Colonial Legislatures. The squatting population are not entitled to vote by right of

Municipal corporations and district councils were also established in the colony by authority of the same comprehensive statute: the former in the chief towns of Sydney and Melbourne,* the latter in various country districts throughout the colony. The municipal institutions have proved useful in their respective spheres, and been the means of improving the two capitals of the colony; the district councils, on the other hand, though unobjectionable in principle, being in fact corporations for the rural districts, appear to be a premature step among a scattered pastoral population, where the expenses of these establishments are in general quite disproportioned to the benefits they are able to confer. The refusal of the legislative council to acknowledge the district councils, and organize the details of their movements, has from the first embarrassed and almost prevented their operations.

The establishment of a representative legislature in New South Wales has been accompanied by the customary results of such institutions among intelligent communities. Inquiries of a practical character have been made into all departments affecting the public welfare: new life and vigour have been infused into

property in live-stock; which excludes the most important class of the colonists from the elective franchise. The council recommended an alteration in this respect, by which the ownership of 1000 sheep, or of 200 cattle, should entitle to a vote; but this change has not been adopted.

* The municipal duties commenced in November 1842. Mr Henry Condell was elected the first mayor of Melbourne. Mr John Hosking, a native of the colony, was the first mayor of Sydney.

the body-politic; and, as usually happens in such circumstances, the opportunity of redress has given birth to complaints and grievances whose existence in many cases was perhaps previously unthought of. These various proceedings have not been attended throughout with entire mutual harmony between the legislative and executive departments of the colonial government. The colonial constitution is by no means a clearly defined fabric throughout its various branches; nor are the accidents of law and statute, where they do exist, always similarly interpreted by different minds or by conflicting interests. The new representative legislators grasped with a firm hand the liberties of the colony; and were not sparing, amidst statutory enactments, natural rights, and the sanction of established usage, in the latitude of constitutional interpretation. This spirit of innovation was resisted by the governor, Sir George Gipps, a man of undoubted talent, and of estimable private character, but possessed of a military inflexibility which, though useful in its proper sphere, was not always adapted for the official administration of civilized society.*

* I have no intention to discuss personal merits and character, and therefore proceed no farther with the case of Sir George Gipps, except to remark, that in the heat of opposition he was often undeservedly aspersed, and that much of the unpopularity of the latter years of his government was due to the natural effect attending the first introduction of free institutions, and still more to the present anomalous and unnecessary restrictions of colonial policy. Sir George, after nine years of anxious administration, has since paid the debt of nature. He was succeeded in the government last year (1846), by Sir Charles Fitzroy, who promises to effect a more happy conciliation of interests.

I shall conclude the present chapter, by presenting to the reader a selection of cases illustrative alike of the labours of the council, and of the civil and political condition of the colony.

Liens on Wool and Mortgages of Live-stock.—The circumstances of the colonists, during their late commercial difficulties, which imperatively demanded every practicable facility, suggested a novel method for their relief. A law was enacted "to give a preferable lien on wool from season to season, and to make mortgages of sheep, cattle, and horses valid without delivery to the mortgagee." This alienation or pledging of things moveable, remarked the secretary for the colonies, in disapproval of its principles, authorizes transactions which are regarded by law as conclusive indications of fraud, places society at the mercy of any dishonest borrower, and is irreconcilably opposed to the spirit of British legislation.* The operation of the act, however, during its first period of two years, proved highly beneficial. A select committee of the legislative council, in recommending a renewal of its provisions for a similar period, admit, in answer to the objections of the home government, "that the liens on wool authorized by this act are an innovation on the law of England as it now stands, but are nevertheless of opinion that there is nothing illegal in their principle, and that there are abundant instances to justify this species of security in the code of the colonies." They remark, that for a period of one hundred and fifty years, in all the West India islands without distinction, it was customary to mortgage the

* Lord Stanley's despatch, 28th October 1844.

negroes on the various estates, and in some of these localities the slaves "were made real estate, and were literally walking freeholds, subject to all the incidents of freehold property."* It was therefore contended that the staple articles of colonies, the slaves of past years, for example, in the case of the West Indies, and the wool and live-stock with reference to New South Wales, are to be considered in a similar light with fixed property at home. As the sheep, cattle, and horses do not carry with them the muniments or title-deeds which belong to real property, and which ought to be handed over to the mortgagee, a registry of transactions must be substituted in their stead.†

Commercial Restrictions.—No change of opinion has been more decided than that which experience has at length effected in Britain in regard to the oft-contested subject of commercial restrictions. Usury enactments and laws for the protection or artificial support of particular classes of employments are gradually but rapidly disappearing from among the statutes of a great and prosperous nation. But the hard-earned experience of the mother country cannot insure a similarity of views to her colonies. In the late commercial distresses of the colony, the legislative council were desirous of passing two restrictive enactments,

* Evidence of Mr Elwyn before the committee, 1845.

† Committee's Report, October 1845. Lord Stanley forbade the continuance of this act beyond the 22d July 1846; so that its operation was appointed to cease at that time—not, however, without some animadversions on the part of the committee that their labours for the welfare of the colony should thus be thwarted by "mere theoretical surmises."

the one to limit the interest of money, the other to protect their agricultural interest by a heavy duty on imported grain. If by legislative enactments they could have also reduced and regulated the necessities of mankind, an interest law might have proved uninjurious; but unhappily all such restrictions tend to limit the free spread of capital, directing its stream chiefly to the best securities; and leaving the needy borrower, the real object of an intended merciful law, either deprived of assistance altogether, or able to procure it only at an enhanced price. Protection to any particular class is simply a public contribution from the other resources of the country. To enable certain parties to realize a profit, their neighbours are taxed for the amount that is required. Under so grievous a misdirection of industry the amount of the protection has not unfrequently exceeded the amount of profit. Where extensive interests have grown up under such a system, great distress may be occasioned by its abolition; but it is impossible to conceive any advantage to a young colony in originating such measures. Both projects were referred by the governor to the queen, and, as might have been anticipated, both were rejected by the home government.*

Parliamentary Agent.—The British public have generally bestowed but a small share of their attention upon the colonies, whose circumstances, indeed, are but imperfectly understood in the mother country. The

* The council proposed to reduce the legal rate of interest to not more than 8 per cent. per annum, and to impose a duty of 8s. per quarter on imported wheat.

disadvantage of this position was duly appreciated by the legislative council; and in 1845, it was resolved to appoint a parliamentary agent for the colony, who should be supplied with all correct and useful information, remunerated for his services, and be directed to promote generally the interests of the colony. The Honourable Francis Scott, M. P., who had previously interested himself in the affairs of the colony, was selected for this office, and several communications on local topics transmitted for his information. But this proceeding has not been approved of by the home government, which has intimated its objection to any such appointment not previously sanctioned by the governor and referred for the approval of the sovereign, and cannot permit that any member of parliament should be at liberty expressly to represent the interests of New South Wales.

Expense of the Criminal Administration.—The convict character of a large proportion of the population of New South Wales, exhibiting itself in the occurrence of crime in a ratio far exceeding that of other civilized countries, occasions a vast expense for the maintenance of police and gaols and the general administration of justice. During the ten years ended in 1845, the expense, on the former account only, amounted to the enormous sum of upwards of one million sterling, averaging above £100,000 per annum. So great an annual expenditure of the public funds pressed heavily on the limited resources of the colony. By the view adopted by the council on this subject the mother country was made chargeable with so much of this expenditure as..

corresponded with the excess of crime committed in New South Wales, as compared with that committed in other and non-convict colonies. This proportion was fixed at no less than two-thirds of the whole, and an immense debt was accordingly recorded against the British government.* In asserting the claims of the colony, the council expressed a disposition to receive the benefits of this fund in a stream of British emigration to their settlements. But the home government have unequivocally disallowed all such claim, "Her majesty being advised, that no part of the asserted debt is really due in law or in justice."

The colony of Van Diemen's Land has been still more unfortunate in this respect than New South Wales. So enormous have these expenses latterly become, that it has been found necessary to retrench the expenditure of various public departments, and to impose heavy additional taxes on the colonists. The greatest dissatisfaction has consequently prevailed, which proceeded to such a height, that towards the end of 1845, one of the members of the legislature of the island declared in the council, "that it was his fixed

* The police and gaol expenditure for 1845 was £96,741, 7s. 6d. Up to the end of 1843, the total for eight years amounted to £839,800, 7s. 7d., of which the proportion due by Britain, as the work of her transported criminals, was fixed at £544,736, 1s. 4d. These are expenses exclusive of convict establishments which are still paid by Britain. The total amount for police and gaols and administration of justice claimed by the colony from the British government in 1845 was £793,034, 10s. 8d., and an estimated annual sum of £74,195, 6s. 8d. It appears, however, that the whole account had been discharged in full from the British treasury, without any encroachment upon colonial funds, until 1835.

determination, and that of those with whom he acted, that no bill should pass levying one shilling on the public until the home government had paid the judicial, police, and gaol expenditure." The estimates, however, were passed by those members who were officers of the government, aided by the casting vote of the governor, which obtained the required majority; and the non-official members, comprising the remainder of the council, resigned their seats.

Management of the Crown Lands.—In all colonies the administration of waste or crown lands, or that portion of the territory which has not yet been sold or alienated to the public, involves interests of great importance. The regulation of these lands, and the revenues arising from their sale or occupation, are under control of the sovereign, who is legal owner of all such property. In this, as in other cases, however, British practice rather than British institutions constitute the true features of national character. The lands belong to the crown—to the British nation; but it has been the custom to appropriate the entire amount of their proceeds for the benefit of the respective colonies.

In the year 1831, an important alteration was adopted in the plan of administering the colonial lands. In New South Wales the system of sales by auction superseded that of free grants, which had been frequently abused; and an upset price at the moderate rate of 5s. per acre was imposed, as a minimum, upon all the land that was from time to time brought forward for sale by the government. But Australia has since been made the subject of a new experiment in colo-

nization. About ten years since, an opinion extensively prevailed in Britain, that the general welfare of new colonies would be best promoted by concentrating the population, and counteracting as far as practicable the dispersive tendencies of the colonists. These theoretical views included also the prospective scarcity of labour in remote colonies, supposed to be occasioned in a great measure by the facility with which labourers who had saved a small amount of earnings could establish themselves as landed proprietors. A remedy for both of these imagined evils was suggested. "It would be absolutely necessary," remarks a high authority, "to raise the minimum price of land to at least £1 an acre, and eventually it would probably be found advantageous to carry it considerably higher still."—"The higher the price set upon land the less of course will be the quantity sold, and the greater the number of emigrants sent out in proportion to the extent of territory brought into occupation, supposing that the proceeds of the land sales continue to be applied to this purpose." * The upset price of land in New South Wales was accordingly raised, first to 12s., and finally to 20s. per acre, at which it now remains. The colonists and the legislative council have successively protested against the imposition of this enormous and unusual price for the crown lands, which has been occasioned by views and principles that have since been proved to be erroneous. "I have strongly en-

* Report of Committee of Commons on Transportation, 1838, p. 35.

deavoured," says Governor Gipps,* "to show how inapplicable to New South Wales, or indeed to any pastoral country, is what is called the theory of concentration, or the anti-dispersive principle." But unfortunately the governor had adopted another theory, which led to the same practical results; and he still supported the high minimum price, because he perceived that the restricted sale of land protected the system of squatting, and rendered it more necessary to the colonists.

If land be worth improving, remarks the secretary for the colonies, it should be worth 20s. an acre.† But this view is based upon the mistake of supposing that all or the greater portion of the lands that are purchased in the colony are destined for agricultural improvement. Throughout New South Wales, numerous and extensive grazing paddocks are necessary in the vicinity of markets for conducting the pastoral commerce of the country; and the fencing and watering of these tracts of land cannot in general be effected under an annual or squatting lease. Australia, to which the theory of the high price of land has been preferably applied, is perhaps the only part of the British dominions where circumstances are altogether unsuited to any of its views.‡

* Despatch, 17th Jan. 1844.

† Lord Stanley to Sir George Gipps, 29th January 1845.

‡ Neither the colonists nor the legislative council have agreed as to what would be a proper minimum for Australian lands. In fact, while all admit the injurious tendency of the present high price, yet the long continuance of the system is annually adding to those "vested interests" that embarrass every question

In New South Wales the interests connected with this department of the government have attained to an unusual magnitude, from the pastoral character of the colony, and the circumstance of its staple commodities being raised from the crown lands. The colonists engaged in depasturing pursuits had long enjoyed the use of these lands at a very diminutive charge, in the form of an annual license-fee for each pastoral location, and a small assessment on each head of the live stock; and nearly all the amount of the fund thus raised had been again expended in regulating and defending this remote and scattered community. In April 1844, a new regulation was promulgated by the governor, increasing the amount of the license-fee to be paid for stations whose extent or pastoral capabilities exceeded a certain standard. In ordinary times this additional charge might have been reckoned a matter of trifling moment, but severe commercial distress still prevailed among all classes. Those who examined deeper than the surface became alarmed at the facility with which the prospects of thousands might be altered by the views or projects of a single individual in the person of the governor. A powerful and general opposition was organized against the executive administration; and the "Pastoral Association" speedily enrolled the names of the principal colonists of the Sydney District. During the following year the commercial depression had cleared off, and the additional rental was scarcely an object of consideration; but the same feeling still prevails as to the uncertainty

of commercial or financial change. Perhaps the most prevalent opinion is in favour of a return to the former rate of 5s. per acre.

of the crown land regulations, and the necessity of transferring to the representatives of the colonists the management of the important interests that are dependent on them. "No thorough remedy can be hoped for," observe the committee of council appointed to inquire into "crown land grievances," "till the whole of the revenues arising from those lands be carried to the account of the ordinary revenue, and the management of these lands be also placed under the control of the governor and legislative council."* The legislative council accordingly adopted a petition to the queen, praying the concession of so desirable a boon, and that her majesty would not withhold her assent from any act that with that view might pass the imperial parliament. The colonists complain that the urgency of these requests made no impression whatever on the stereotyped order of the colonial office. In formal and polished sentences, Lord Stanley replied, on the part of the supreme authority, that her majesty did not "think it necessary or convenient to enter into any statement of the course which she might pursue in what appeared to her majesty so improbable a contingency."†

* Report, August 1844.

† I have not alluded to the principal grounds upon which the council claimed the transfer of the management of the crown lands, namely, a distinct and mutually understood compact, entered into by the previous council in 1835 with the then governor, Sir Richard Bourke, by which, on the occasion of the police and gaol expenditure being transferred to the account of the colony, it was agreed that the crown land revenue should be incorporated with the ordinary revenue which was at the disposal of the council. This compact appeared to have been admitted and acceded to by a subsequent despatch from the then colonial secretary. But both Sir George Gipps and Lord Stanley denied

Administration of the Colonies.—The colonial legislature, thus thwarted in their efforts, were not inattentive to political casualties at home that promised for the future a better ground of hope. A change of ministry took place, and the noble lord previously at the head of the colonial department, who appears with regard to the Australian colonies to have been more conspicuous for his talents than his popularity, retired from his important office. A member of council, during the session of last year (1846), moved that a vote of thanks be transmitted to her majesty, in consequence of the ministerial change which had lately affected the colonial department, and was likely to be attended with important results to the welfare of the colony. So novel a proposition was not entirely destitute of support in the legislative assembly; but after some lengthened discussion, in which the motion in question was decided to be inapplicable from the circumstance of the voluntary nature of Lord Stanley's resignation, an amendment was eventually carried, by the large majority of seventeen to five, that an address be prepared to her majesty, praying for a total reform in the "colonial administration of her majesty's government."

the compact; and indeed so great a constitutional change required a very distinct process of intimation. In the text I have left the case to its own merits, without reference to any accidents of past legislation. Several of the principal British colonies have already acquired the boon in question. The circumstances of New South Wales with respect to her crown lands, already alluded to, render this concession more important to her than to any other settlement.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE COLONIES.

Present and prospective Importance of the British Colonies—Their Benefit and their Expense to the Mother Country—View formerly taken of the Colonies, and Regulations in Consequence; Commercial Restrictions—Gradual Change of Practice—Existing Remnants of Old System—Vexations of Colonial Administration to the Home Government—System of Checks upon Colonial Legislation—Extension of Powers sought for by the Colonies—Illustrations of present Restriction; the Customs, the Crown Lands, Reservations of Revenue—Question as to enlarging the Colonial Constitutions—General View of the Colonies in their Relation to the Parent State.

THE unwonted degree of public attention now bestowed upon the British colonies is in some degree the natural effect with regard to a subject which has been previously neglected; but it is chiefly occasioned by the increasing numbers, importance, and extent of these settlements, the difficulty of adjusting their privileges, and the conflicting considerations of their benefit and their expense to the parent state. There are now forty-five colonies,* containing upwards of five millions

* Sir Robert Peel's Financial Statement, 1846.

of British subjects, exclusive of the multitudes of British India and other less civilized aborigines.

Even the present extent of the commerce of Britain with her colonies is perhaps of far less consequence than the circumstance of its steady and rapid extension, and the overshadowing importance of the future prospect. In the year 1835, the number of vessels entered inwards from the colonies to British ports amounted to 3633, with a total tonnage of 1,040,091. The progressive increase of ten years has exhibited, in 1845, the number of vessels at 5685, and the tonnage at 1,895,529.*

But the colonial commerce, and the glory of so extensive an empire, are maintained at a vast expenditure of British treasure. It has been estimated that for Canada and the West Indian colonies only, the balance of expenditure in military and naval outlays during times of peace exceeds one million and a half sterling.† Sir Robert Peel, in his financial statement on 14th February 1846, remarked that the British army consisted at that time of 112 battalions, seventy-seven of which were abroad, and thirty-five at home; but the purpose of the latter was "not, as was generally supposed, for preserving the public peace, but for

* Return from the Custom House, 12th August 1846, to an order of the House of Commons. The increase of the foreign trade is equally conspicuous,—1835, 8290 vessels, 1,250,665 tons.
1845, 13,817 ... 2,289,744 ...

† M'Culloch, Com. Dict., 1834, Art. Colonies, pp. 334, 335. The expense is probably greater now with the rapid extension of these large colonies.

supporting the system of relief of regiments in the colonies. The rule was five years at home and ten abroad." *

The colonies are not, indeed, strictly chargeable with the whole of these enormous expenses. This outlay is proportioned, not according to actual necessities of colonial defence from civil or foreign commotion, but to the magnitude of imperial interests; and the naval and military forces are equally efficient, in remote colonies as in situations nearer home, for the protection of the empire at large. The colonies, however, under that independence of political constitution to which they are gradually advancing, are fairly chargeable with some proportion that accords either with their actual necessities, where these can be agreed upon, or with their respective population as compared with that of the mother country.

The light in which Britain has viewed her colonies has been essentially altered within the last eighty years. It was by an effort to homologate, as it were, her colonial settlements by the imposition of taxes, that the severance of the United States was occasioned. "The only use of American colonies or West India islands, said Lord Sheffield, under the very different view which then prevailed as compared with the pre-

* But it appeared that for a series of eighteen years, from 1824 to 1842, the average had been fourteen years abroad and only four years at home; and that forty-seven additional battalions would be required, in order to follow out the rule. There were at that time about 1200 military in New South Wales.

sent day, is the monopoly of their commerce, and the carriage of their produce." * Regarded, therefore, merely in the light of markets which were created and maintained by the mother country for the exclusive purposes of her own commerce, their tariffs and shipping regulations have been variously modified, to suit the advantage of the parent state. On the other hand, it was deemed good policy, and a measure of reciprocal justice on the part of Britain, to restrict also the sphere of her own commercial dealings, in order to promote a variety of branches of trade in the colonies, for the supply of the home market. This was accomplished by means of protective or exclusive duties, which operated to shut out any cheaper produce of other countries. To such an extreme was this system carried, that in some instances the additional price that was paid during many years for the colonial production, far exceeded even the whole profit that was usually realized in its manufacture by the colonists. After an arduous and protracted struggle, these mutual restrictions are now at length being abolished by the British government.

This is a circumstance of no small importance in the prospective relationship of Britain to her colonies. The expense of naval and military outfits for these settlements has always been defrayed wholly by the parent state,—an arrangement perfectly consistent with

* M'Culloch, *ubi supra*, p. 330. "The British colonies of North America," said Lord Chatham in Parliament, "had no right to manufacture even a nail for a horse-shoe."

the views that formerly prevailed with regard to the establishment and maintenance of colonies, and their population have therefore repudiated all liability to these charges. "Attempts," said Lord Palmerston,* "have been made in all the West India islands to induce them to contribute to the expenses of the establishments; and they have always represented that their means of doing so were crippled by the commercial arrangements of the mother country: they have said, 'If you will let us trade as we like, and collect our own customs-duties, and so on, we will do it.'"

With the "British possessions' duties' bill," brought forward by the ministry last year, nearly all the remaining obstacles which for many years have stood in the path of the colonies will be cleared away. The purpose of this act was to empower the colonists to repeal all extra duties imposed upon foreign merchandise imported into their settlements, over and above those which are levied on similar importations from the United Kingdom.† The intricate enactments of the navigation laws appear to be now the only remaining restrictions, as far as regards the interference of the parent government, which affect colonial commerce.

* Evidence to Finance Committee. M'Culloch, *ubi supra*, pp. 334, 335.

† By the Act 8 & 9 Vict., additional duties had been previously imposed on foreign importations into the colonies. Prior to this act also there had been a custom of charging higher duties on foreign than on British goods; and a great variety of articles admitted free when of British growth or manufacture, were chargeable with a small duty if foreign,

But although arrangements in regard to commercial interests are thus favourable on the part of the home government, and Britain has accomplished in one respect nearly all that a generous and noble parent can devise for the welfare of her remote offspring, the colonies still labour in subjection to various remnants of a less liberal practice. These lingering evils, as pertaining to constitutional rights, are of a less objective character than commercial questions, but they are not less hostile to the common sentiments of liberty, and they generally refer to matters of colonial concernment, bearing in comparison but a remote relationship to imperial interests. The management of various colonial departments, still retained in the hands of the home government, is always vexatious under their present arrangement, and ever liable to develop injurious results, from errors of theory and the want of practical local knowledge. The colonial administration has hitherto been proverbially troublesome and disjointed. The home office has reserved for itself in this department an unnecessary amount of labour and anxiety; nor can public business proceed more smoothly for the future, unless by enlarging the duties of the respective local legislatures, and abolishing invidious precautions which, under antiquated systems and expiring political views, are still maintained for the ostensible purposes of repressing the fancied turbulence of colonists, and keeping up an eternal contest between the government and the governed.

It is not surprising that the home government itself, equally with the colonies, should repeatedly feel the

annoyance of such a system. "From some experience of the colonial office," says a noble lord now administering this department, "I am persuaded that it is utterly impossible for any man, be his talents and industry what they might, adequately to administer such complicated affairs as those of the British colonies, scattered all over the world." * True indeed, and the colonists only hope that, so long as their own interests are attempted to be interpreted by other parties than themselves, the subject will always continue to assume the same intricate and thorny character.

Let us inquire what the mother country has to apprehend from enlarging the sphere of the operations of the colonial legislatures. We shall view the system, with regard to New South Wales, in the limited departments of legislation hitherto intrusted to the colonial representatives. All disbursements from the revenue must be proposed by the governor; no money vote whatever can originate in the council. All bills upon subjects competent to the council may originate either with itself or with the governor; but after sanction of the house, before taking effect, they must receive the assent of the governor, acting as the representative of the sovereign. The governor may withhold his assent, and thus render the proposed measure void, or he may refer the decision to the home government. On certain specified subjects he must always adopt the

* Lord Howick's speech on the New Zealand debate in 1845, quoted by Lord Lincoln in his speech on Colonization, 1st June 1847.

latter course. And finally, for the complete protection of imperial interests against the acts and permissions even of the governor himself, in case they should be deemed of an injurious tendency, any bill assented to by the governor and council may be disallowed by the queen within a period of two years from the date of the intimation of its subject received by the secretary of state.

The reader may not readily perceive any occasion for apprehension at the latitude of freedom exhibited within this well hedged territory. There is, at all events, an effectual security against erroneous legislation. The colonists are not, it may be hoped, desirous of any liberty in this respect. They seek for the right of suggesting and considering all questions that relate to their own welfare. These initiatory privileges are the great moral lever which they are anxious to possess. Their efforts may sometimes be erroneously directed; and, whether right or wrong, their enactments are liable to be annulled by authority of the home government. The right, and, generally speaking, the benefit of this imperial supervision are not disputed; they constitute in fact the official tie that unites the parent with her colonial offspring. But having the acknowledged right to debate and to propose, the conclusions arrived at and the enactments decided upon by the local experience of colonial assemblies possess a weight and authority which cannot continually be resisted without the substitution of a sufficient reason. The consciousness of possessing these privileges, operating

upon the minds both of the colonists generally and their representatives, serves to direct public attention to any topic of debate, and thus gradually develops the sense of the community. Had the administration of the colonial lands in New South Wales been confided to the local legislature, a plan adapted to the circumstances of the case would have made its appearance, instead of the discontent occasioned in the colony, and the indecision and difficulty which the home government have experienced with these local subjects. Conflicting opinion and prolonged controversy probably mark the first opening of so perplexed a question; a committee of council sits to take evidence, and the columns of the local press are crowded with the suggestions of the watchful colonists. Eventually the subject is brought to a practical bearing, and results in some consistent and satisfactory arrangement to be submitted for the consideration of the home government. We shall present the unsatisfactory remnants of old colonial policy in several principal instances, which have been animadverted on by the colonists.

The Customs.—With the view of appropriating certain duties levied, by way of protection to British goods, upon foreign produce imported into the colonies, the home government took charge of the department of the colonial customs. Now, however, the mother country does not receive a fraction of these duties, all of whose proceeds are placed at the disposal of the colonial legislature; nevertheless, this department communicates, not with the local authorities, but direct with the home

government; and almost every office of its service, even to the lowest grades in the employment, continues to be filled up by appointments from Britain.*

The Crown Lands.—The public lands of the colonies are by law the property of the crown—of the empire at large; but the liberality of a great nation has resigned the proceeds of these lands to the uses of the colonies in which they are respectively raised. Nevertheless Britain still reserves the right to administer these proceeds and frame the regulations affecting the waste lands. The interests which are placed under the direction of the legislative council are occasionally connected with those under the management of the crown; and any want of unanimity between the respective authorities is liable to result in public loss and inconvenience. Thus the colonial squatting act embodied the fees and regulations affecting the crown lands, together with an assessment or tax upon the live stock which had been imposed by the legislature for the maintenance of a border police. This act happened to expire on the 30th June 1846. An act of parliament had been anticipated

* This anomalous state of things, I perceive, has lately occasioned a difference between the sub-collector at Melbourne and the government. The former was ordered to furnish to an accused party a copy of his report on the case to the London Board; but he refused to comply, having in reality no authority except from Britain to exhibit any thing whatever beyond the usual routine of sanctioned publicity. The collector doubtless skirmished on a narrow ground, which he might have safely abandoned to so just and reasonable a proposal; and so probably thought the authorities, who have suspended him from his office in consequence; but nevertheless he appears to have been strictly right in his proceeding.

to supersede all local enactments; but the general clamour from the colonies that attended all proceedings on this measure, and the obvious difficulty of legislating in Britain for Australia, had somewhat delayed the expected statute; and it became necessary to renew the local act for an additional period of twelve months. This act had been passed seven years previously by the old council, and, under ordinary circumstances, would doubtless have been renewed without hesitation by the present legislature. But the governor, by the published regulations of April 1844, had already, of his own authority, effected an important change in the act, with reference to the amount of the annual rent or fee payable for the crown lands. The council had claimed on several grounds the control of these lands and their revenues; and the alterations in the squatting act had been effected without the concurrence or even the knowledge of their body. They refused therefore to have any participation whatever in the proposed renewal; and eventually agreed, by a large majority, to an address to the governor deprecating the procedure of the executive in the case of this act, and declining on their part to tax the squatters, so long as his excellency himself assumed that power to an indefinite extent. The act was rejected; the crown by force of its legal rights continued to levy its annual fees; but the assessment for the support of the border police fell into abeyance.

Reservations of Revenue.—The "ordinary revenue" of New South Wales, or that portion of the whole revenue which is at the disposal of the "governor and legislative

council," is chargeable with a "civil list," totally removed from the control or interference of the council, amounting to the large sum of £81,600, as a provision for salaries in various departments of the colonial government, and for the maintenance of religion in the colony.* The absolute character of these reservations is both invidious and unnecessary; and their provisions are rendered inadequate or unsuitable by the progress of the colony or the mutations of society. The management of these reserved funds on the part of the executive may have proved exceptionable to the legislature; and a refusal of further contributions, even when required by the circumstances of the colony, may appear to the latter body as their only practical and efficient mode of intimating disapprobation. In the estimates for 1845, submitted by the governor to the legislature, it appeared that the requirements of the judicial administration had absorbed the funds requisite for the support of the department of the registrar. The application of the executive for a vote of additional funds was rejected by the legislature, who, claiming the control of the considerable casual revenue collected from fees and fines in the courts of justice, and hitherto appropriated by authority of the crown, referred the governor to the established

* Reserved by act of parliament 5 and 6 Vict., and distributed over three schedules, viz.:

Schedule A.	Salaries of civil officers, &c.....	£33,000
—	B. Treasurer's and other departments,..	18,600
—	C. Support of religion,.....	30,000
		£81,600

provision of the civil list. Both parties remained inflexible in their views and arrangements, and the important duties of the registrar were left for a time totally unprovided for. To an address presented by the council on this subject, a methodical answer was returned from the colonial office of the home government. The authority of the legislature to refuse the additional supply is at once admitted; but on the other hand it is intimated that her majesty "is advised by the highest *legal authority* to which reference can be had," &c. &c.* The council took their position on a principle, which was not to determine accidents of law, but to promote the public welfare.

The example of Canada has led to the opinion that the circumstances of colonies are not suited to the exercise of independent legislation. Within late years intestine discord has made its appearance within two British colonies. The population of Canada and of the Cape

* Since the above was in print, I perceive, by recent advices from Sydney, that at the opening of the legislative council on 4th May last, the governor intimated, in his address to that body, that he had been instructed by the home government to surrender to the control of the legislature the casual revenue here contended for. This is a preliminary step in the right direction. In communicating this concession, Lord Grey observes, says the governor, that "the sum set apart for a civil list is as large a part of the revenue of the colony (other than the land revenue) as parliament designed to withdraw, or as it is desirable to withdraw from the control of the local legislature; on the part of her majesty's government, his lordship entirely disclaims any wish to augment that deduction." I should remark here, that having mislaid my memorandum of the case alluded to in the text, it is there given chiefly from memory. I believe, however, it will be found substantially correct.

colony comprise respectively a large admixture of foreign subjects; and this portion of the colonists, wanting the tie of nationality, has more or less directly been the sole occasion of disturbance. Other settlements must not be judged by these exceptionary instances. If anything can be said to have disturbed the profound loyalty and national unity of New South Wales, it is the want of those privileges that are here contended for. A total independence may, in the lapse of time, prove meet for both parties; but experience of the Australian colonies enables me to assert, that in the mean time nothing is more remote from the views and expectations of their inhabitants than a severance from that great nation with which they proudly claim to be connected.

The principal fear entertained by the national government, in the view of confiding to the colonies an unrestricted scope of legislation, appears to be connected with the disposal of the vacant colonial territory. I am aware of the truth and force of the argument that the public lands of the various colonies are a national domain; not the property of the comparative handful of an early colonial population, but that of the empire at large, whose subjects are ever streaming forth to appropriate, under equitable arrangements, a share of these extensive reserves. But the colonists themselves are usually disposed to a similar view of this question, and regard with a somewhat jealous eye any wasteful alienation of the crown territory, which they consider as a source of public wealth alike for the future as the present benefit of the colony. Where a considerable population

has come together, consisting of average enterprise, means, and respectability, and is fairly represented in a local legislature, the result will not prove unfavourable.* It is indeed impossible by any methodical rule to determine when a colony has sufficiently advanced to assume the important position of managing its own affairs. But the more respectable and influential of a colonial population are rarely disposed to precipitate a crisis so important to the common welfare; and in other respects it cannot be difficult to estimate the circumstances in any actual case.

In conclusion, let us estimate the political position, the utility, and the practical design of the British colonies. They are the offshoots of necessity, enterprise, and adventure. Searching after their own interests, the colonists at the same time spread abroad the language, and the race, and the civilisation of their country. This is the glory of a nation, an ambition on the part of Britain to which she has willingly sacrificed her treasures and the lives of her people. Her colonies are now scattered over the wide surface of the globe. When established and in full career, they exist as separate communities, but connected with the parent state by the mutual advantages of commerce, strengthened by the natural ties of language, manners, and institutions, and superintended by a direct emanation from the parent

* New South Wales is however not fairly represented. The distribution of representatives should be more nearly proportioned to population. Sydney and its immediate suburbs contain one-fourth of the population of the colony, and the city is represented by only two out of twenty-four members.

government. By his self-expatriation the colonist enters upon a new condition. He bids adieu to his native land; but he quits also its miseries, its crowded competition, and its burdensome taxation. His position is peculiar. He lives in the enjoyment of British laws, but is subject to control when the colonial may interfere with imperial interests. Removed in a great measure from public notice, he has indeed been hitherto liable to hardship or neglect from erroneous measures of government, or undeviating official routine. But these evils are of a remediable character. To represent the colonies in the British parliament, as now commonly proposed, appears a gratuitous and unnecessary proceeding. Were the political system of the British colonies to remain of necessity always on the present footing, such a privilege might perhaps be necessary to enforce attention to their claims and wishes. But a far more direct and efficient remedy may be applied; and the current of modern legislation inclines in the right direction. Parliamentary representation is neither sufficient to meet the practical and local wants of the colonies, nor is the colonist entitled to claim such a status. He has no right to mingle in the control of a government and the disposition of national resources to which he in no degree contributes. He would thus enjoy the honour of such a position without participating in the cost. Represented in parliament, Australia has no more right to escape the general taxation and liability of the British nation than Ireland or the Orkneys.

The circumstances of the British colonies demand a

general reconsideration. They require a more liberal political system; a constitutional control over all subjects that affect their own welfare,—an independence limited only where imperial interests of a real and practical character are found to interfere. On the other hand, the colonies, increasing daily in extent, importance, and population, can no longer overlook the vast expense they occasion to the parent state. When in a position to demand and assume legislative independence, they must at the same time be prepared to make some fair and reasonable contribution towards the naval and military expenses of their respective locations. This is a burden which, it may be hoped, the progress of commerce and civilisation will annually reduce. But the colonists, when their own claims are adjusted, will not reject those which are preferred with equal justice by the mother country.

POSTSCRIPT TO CHAPTER XIV.

Page 212. *Steam Communication with Australia* via *Egypt and India.*—The following comparative statement of the various routes to Australasia, drawn up from a report on the subject made to her majesty's government, is extracted from the prospectus of the India and Australia Mail Steam Packet Company, alluded to in the text at page 211. The company appends its remarks on each route, and decides on that marked No. 5, *via* Singapore, as on the whole decidedly the most promising.

No. 1 Route—*Via* the West Indies.

	Miles.	Days.
England to Chagres	4,840	40
Chagres, across the Isthmus of Panama	50	4
Panama to Auckland, New Zealand	6,780	38
Auckland to Sydney	1,450	8
	13,120	90

Total distance 13,120 miles, occupying 90 days, or about 146 miles a-day.

There are no preparations for crossing the isthmus, no coal-stations but the Marquesas and Tahiti, where coal would have to be placed at considerable expense, no traffic along the line, and no advantages conferred,

such as would be derived from bringing India and China in rapid communication with *Australia.*

No. 2 ROUTE—*Via* Egypt and the Mauritius.

	Miles.	Days.
England to Alexandria	3,042	16⅛
Alexandria to Aden	1,593	8⅝
Aden to Mauritius	2,400	14
Mauritius to Albany (W. A.)	3,400	19
Albany to Adelaide (S. A.)	1,020	6
Adelaide to Van Diemen's Land, Port Dalrymple	600	3½
Port Dalrymple to Sydney	500	2⅝
(Including coaling and stoppages)		
	12,555	70⅛

Total distance 12,555 miles, occupying 70⅛ days, or about 180 miles a-day.

By going to the Mauritius during the S. W. monsoon, which lasts four or five months, eight or nine days would require to be added to the 14 allowed as above.

From the Mauritius to Albany there is 19 days steaming at 180 miles a-day against strong westerly winds,* and no intermediate *coaling-station;* the distance therefore of 3,400 miles could not be performed under steam. There are also strong and adverse winds between Swan River and Adelaide, S. A.* It is not probable that the voyage from Aden to Adelaide could be calculated under 55 to 60 days, which would give 85 to 90 days from England to Sydney. The tempestuous weather in this route would require steamers of great power, and there is no traffic on the line to warrant a heavy expenditure; moreover, the desi-

* These strong westerly winds are very prevalent south of the Cape of Good Hope and to the west of Cape Leuwin. They are favourable for the outward voyage, but the return passage would of course be at corresponding disadvantage.

deratum of bringing Australia into communication with India, China, and the Eastern Islands, would be lost sight of.

No. 3 ROUTE—*Via* Egypt, Ceylon, Swan River, Adelaide.

	Miles.	Days.
England to Ceylon, *via* Aden	6,818	34⅓
Ceylon to Keeling's Island	1,500	9
Keeling's Island to Swan River	1,600	9½
Swan River to Adelaide	1,450	8
Adelaide to Van Diemen's Land	700	3½
Van Diemen's Land to Sydney	500	2⅔
To which add for coaling and stoppages		6
	12,568	72⅚

Total distance 12,568 miles, occupying 72⅚ days, or about 172 miles a-day.

The S. E. trade wind would also render this a tempestuous voyage, requiring large-sized vessels, which the small number of inhabitants, the revenue, and traffic of Swan River would not justify.

No. 4 ROUTE—*Via* Egypt, Ceylon and Port Essington.

	Miles.	Days.
England to Ceylon, *via* Aden	6,818	34⅓
Ceylon to Anger or Batavia	2,000	12
Batavia to Port Essington	1,600	7
Port Essington to Sydney	2,340	12
(Including coaling and stoppages)		
	12,758	65⅓

Total distance 12,758 miles, occupying 65⅓ days, or about 196 miles a-day.

By this route the distance between Sydney and England ought always to be accomplished under 65 days; in fact from 55 to 60 days would be the average; moreover, the peninsula of India would be brought in

more immediate contact with Australia than by the Singapore route, there would be more open sea for navigation, and the tropical heat would be experienced less than while navigating through the eastern archipelago.

No. 5 Route—*Via* Egypt, Ceylon, Singapore, Port Essington, (Torres Straits).

	Miles.	Days.
England to Singapore	8,390	42⅓
Singapore to Port Essington (*via* Lombock)	2,060	10
Port Essington to Sydney (*via* Wednesday Island)	2,340	12
(Including coaling and stoppages)		
	12,790	64⅓

Total distance 12,790 miles, occupying 64⅓ days, or about 199 miles a-day.

The advantages of this route are, that Sydney, the metropolitan capital of the whole of the Australasian colonies, would be brought to a certainty within 64 or 65 days of London, and within less than 30 days of India; the coal-stations are convenient, the navigation smooth (and safe since the surveys of Torres Straits), and there is a large and increasing traffic along the line; excellent coal from the pits at Newcastle, New South Wales, can be put on board there at 7s. to 7s. 6d. per ton, and the freight to Port Essington about 20s. or 22s. per ton; a coal depôt would thus be formed at a rising British settlement at a cost of 27s. to 30s. per ton. Lombock or Batavia can be supplied with coal from our new settlement of Labuan in Borneo, or from Calcutta.

The distances to be traversed in the various routes in *one* year, would be as follows:

Route No.	ROUTE.	Places to which Steam is effected.	Total distance effected	Total new distance to be effected.	Total distance from England.	Total new distance to be performed.	Total distance per annum.	Days.
1	West Indies.....	Panama..	4,890	8,230	13,120	197,520	314,880	90
2	Egypt, Mauritius, &c.	Aden	4,635	7,920	12,555	190,080	301,320	70
3	Egypt, Ceylon, &c. ...	Ceylon...	6,818	5,750	12,568	138,000	301,632	72
4	Egypt, Ceylon, Anger, &c.....	Ceylon...	6,818	5,940	12,758	142,560	306,192	65
*5	Egypt, Ceylon, Singapore, &c.....	Singapore	8,390	4,400	12,790	105,600	306,960	64

* The proposed route of the India and Australian Mail Steam Packet Company.

It is obvious from the consideration of the foregoing statement, that Route No 5, as regards time, expenditure, and other advantages, decidedly offers the most eligible mode of effecting the proposed steam communication between England, India, and Australasia.

Page 214. *Colonial Postage.*—The frequent changes in the postal arrangements between Britain and the colonies usually introduce on each occasion a nearer approach to a cheap and uniform system. The following is the substance of a treasury warrant for a new alteration published in the Gazette of 19th October 1847: That on all letters not exceeding half an ounce in weight, transmitted by packet boat between the islands of Martinique and Guadaloupe respectively, and also between those islands and British North America and the British West Indies, there shall be one uniform rate of postage of fourpence. On all letters of the same weight transmitted from any town to another in the island of Hong Kong, there shall be a postage of one penny. For the future the letters by any of her

majesty's Mediterranean packet boats *via* Southampton, between the United Kingdom and the East Indies, the Indian Ocean, Ceylon, the Mauritius, China, the Chinese Seas, the Philippines, the Moluccas, Australia, New Zealand, or any other countries *via* Syria or Egypt, shall be chargeable with any additional postage to the Red Sea or the Persian Gulf. That on every foreign newspaper conveyed by the post between Gibraltar or any other British colony in the Mediterranean and the island of Hong Kong, or any other British colony in the East Indies, there shall be a uniform rate of postage of one penny, in addition to the charge for forwarding it by land through Egypt. On all newspapers transmitted in the same manner to ports in China, or to the Philippine Islands, the charge is to be twopence. The order also directs that on all printed pamphlets or publications printed in the United Kingdom, and transmitted thence by post between any places within British North America or within the British West Indies, there shall be, in lieu of all other rates, a colonial rate of one penny for every ounce weight, but that no such publication shall be forwarded by post if weighing more than 16 ounces. The minute then proceeds to extend the privilege now granted to persons in the East India service of receiving letters not exceeding half an ounce in weight at the rate of a penny, to persons in her majesty's service in the island of Hong Kong or other places in the Chinese or Indian Seas.

APPENDIX.

A.—Page 33.

METEOROLOGY.—*New South Wales.*

OBSERVATIONS have been regularly conducted in New South Wales, since the year 1840, under authority of government, at the three stations of Melbourne, the South Head of Port Jackson, and Port Macquarie. The elevation of these respective stations above the mean level of the sea is as follows:—

Melbourne,.....130 feet
South Head,.....240 ...
Port Macquarie,..... 53 ...

The observations are made at four different periods of each day, namely, 8½ A. M., 2½ P. M., sunset, and 9 P. M. The thermometer is placed outside in the shade. The difference between the wet and dry thermometer indicates the state of dryness or moisture of the atmosphere. The indication at 8½ A. M. is generally a near approach to the mean temperature of the day, that at 2½ P. M. to the maximum.

The following is the average shade temperature of each month, as observed at these stations at the hours of 8½ A. M. and 2½ P. M., and of the wet thermometer at 2½ P. M., for the twelve months ended in June 1846:

	MELBOURNE.			PORT JACKSON.			PORT MACQUARIE.		
	8½ A. M.	2½ P.M.	W.Th.	8½ A.M.	2½ P.M.	W.Th.	8½ A.M.	2½ P.M.	W.Th.
July 1845,....	50.29	55.48	53.25	49.61	58.16	53.96	51.61	60.25	54.03
August,.....	* ...	57.38	53.77	51.74	60.29	54.45	* ...	...	...
September,...	56.10	63.50	59.66	57.40	62.80	58.40	58.73	66.76	63.13
October,.....	58.83	65.38	60.77	61.09	64.45	59.96	64.09	68.35	65.19
November,...	61.70	69.00	64.53	69.96	72.77	64.73	71.73	74.20	70.50
December,....	65.03	73.09	66.74	71.12	74.29	68.51	73.90	76.80	72.70
January1846,	66.19	73.48	66.41	72.74	75.35	70.25	77.83	79.90	74.90
February,....	63.85	72.32	65.67	71.53	75.71	69.17	75.50	77.75	72.32
March,.....	61.83	68.74	63.09	68.77	72.32	69.29	72.58	75.96	71.32
April,.....	57.13	64.20	60.30	63.46	69.70	66.33	69 16	72.93	68.50
May,.....	50.64	56.12	54.54	54.32	62.45	58.16	59.25	65.83	60.67
June,.....	46.96	54.70	52.56	* ...	...	...	55.66	60.86	57.50

* Some of the returns for these months have not been obtained.

MONTHLY EXTREMES of the Barometer, and the Mean at 2½ P. M., as observed at the three following Stations, for the Twelve Months ended in June 1846:

	MELBOURNE.			PORT JACKSON.			PORT MACQUARIE.		
	Highest.	Lowest.	Mean at 2½ P.M.	Highest	Lowest	Mean at 2½ P.M.	Highest.	Lowest.	Mean at 2½ P.M.
July 1845,....	30.43	29.55	29.98	30.36	29.70	29.99	30.52	30.01	30.21
August,.....	30.22	29.48	29.72	30.22	29.36	29.80	...	...	...
September, .	30.45	29.52	30.05	30.38	29.65	30.07	30.45	30.07	30.26
October,.....	30.24	29.62	30.00	...	...	...	30.31	30.05	31.19
November,...	30.08	29.50	29.78	30.09	29.42	29.76	30.27	30.00	30.13
December,...	30.10	29.61	29.82	29.97	29.49	29.78	30.10	29.61	30.02
January1846,	30.10	29.66	29.86	30.06	29.49	29.77	30.60	29.80	30.00
February,....	30.23	29.61	29.83	30.10	29.32	29.78	30.16	29.71	30.03
March,.....	30.19	29.66	29.92	30.08	29.59	29.87	30.16	29.80	30 04
April,.....	30.20	29.55	29.89	30.15	29.47	29.84	30.26	29.80	30.12
May,.....	30.30	29.54	29.91	30.17	29.44	29.89	30.39	30.10	30.22
June,.....	30.31	29.70	30.09	...	...	...	30.40	29.85	30.17

QUANTITY OF RAIN (depth in inches) fallen at the three following Stations, the Number of Days with Rain, and the Maximum Quantity in any one Day, for each of the Twelve Months of the Year ended in June 1846:

	MELBOURNE.			PORT JACKSON.			PORT MACQUARIE.		
	Days with rain.	Inches fallen.	Maximum in one day	Days with rain.	Inches fallen.	Maximum in one day	Days with rain.	Inches fallen.	Maximum in one day.
July 1845,....	16	5.50	1.81	12	4.91	3.65	6	0.70	0.60
August,.....	...	1.36	...	7	0.60	0.29	...	...	...
September,...	9	1.27	0.76	8	3.62	3.07	9	3.75	1.27
October,.....	10	2.34	1.12	...	...	...	16	2.81	1.00
November,...	15	3.99	1.42	4	0.80	0.62	8	2.52	1.70
December,...	3	0.17	0.11	14	7.74	3.66	17	11.72	3.00
January1846,	5	2.12	1.01	6	1.00	0.48	15	1.86	1.25
February,....	6	1.67	1.13	9	5.91	3.66	7	2.05	1.50
March,.....	6	1.30	0.92	15	2.69	0.93	14	4.72	2.06
April,.....	11	2.27	0.35	9	1.26	0.72	6	5.46	2.65
May,.....	17	3.79	1.02	8	1.43	1.17	4	0.76	0.75
June,.....	11	1.20	0.32	...	...	...	9	2.52	1.25

From the work of Strzelecki, the following table, already partially quoted in the text, exhibits various particulars, as deduced from the observations at the three stations of New South Wales, and also those made at Launceston, Van Diemen's Land:

	Port Phillip.	Port Jackson.	Port Macquarie.	Launceston.
Latitude south,.....	38° 18′	33° 51′	31° 25′	41° 26′
Annual mean,.....	61.3	66.6	68.0	59.
Mean for summer,.....	69.4	73.9	75.0	66.0
Mean for winter,.....	53.3	59.3	61.0	53.0
Summer maximum,.....	90.6	81.9	88.3	68.4
Summer minimum,.....	48.8	59.0	61.8	49.0
Winter maximum,.....	69.8	73.3	75.3	56.0
Winter minimum,.....	36.9	45.3	46.8	41.4
Warmest month,.....	Nov.	Nov.	Nov.	Feb.
Coldest month,.....	July.	July.	August.	June.

The annual mean temperature at Port Arthur, Van Diemen's Land, in lat. 43° 10′, is 57.9.

The mean annual temperature at Port Jackson, as published by the S. W. Herald, appears as follows, for the four years 1841-44, and is remarkably lower than the results of Strzelecki, as given in the text:

1841,.....64.656	1843,.....62.730
1842,.....62.720	1844,..... 61.490

The summer and winter temperature for the latter three of these years is thus distinguished respectively:

Year.	Summer.	Winter.	Difference.
1842,.....	68.390	57.055	11.335
1843,.....	67.987	57.473	10.514
1844,.....	66.731	56.245	10.486

From private observations made at Paramatta, the following are the annual means for the three years:

1843,.....65.87	
1844,.....63.43	
1845,.....64.86	

These results are considerably above those of the preceding table. Paramatta is twenty miles inland from the Heads.

The following is a condensed view of the general observations at Port Jackson, for the years 1841-44:

Year.	Barom.	Therm.	Days with Rain.	Quantity.
1841,.....	29.861	64.656	142	76.31
1842,.....	29.822	62.720	137	48.32
1843,.....	29.865	62.730	168	62.78
1844,.....	29.859	61.490	157	70.67

Two extraordinary falls of rain are recorded as having occurred at Port Jackson, namely, on 29th April 1841, quantity 20.12 inches, the wind being from E.N.E. to E.S.E., with heavy squalls; and on 15th October 1844, quantity 20.41 inches, the wind being from S.E. to S.W.

South Australia.

The following particulars are from Mr Dutton's work on South Australia, pp. 104, 105.

RESULTS OF METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS,—taken at the Surveyor-General's Office, Government Offices, Victoria Square, Adelaide, during one Year from April 1844 to March 1845, both inclusive, at the Hours of 10 A. M., 12 A. M., 2 P. M., and 4 P. M., of each Day, Sundays excepted.

1844	Mean.		Highest.		Lowest.			Mean.		Highest.		Lowest.	
April	Ther.	Bar.	Ther.	Bar.	Ther.	Bar.		Ther.	Bar.	Ther.	Bar.	Ther.	Bar.
o'clock							October o'clock						
10	63⅜		81½		53½		10	66½	29.94	86½	30.22	55	29.60
12	65⅝		86		53½		12	68½		92		56	
2	67½		85		56½		2	68½		94½		55	
4	64 7/8		82		54		4	69	29.87	96½	30.26	53½	29.
May							Nov.						
o'clock							o'clock						
10	60		73		46		10	70⅜	29.88	88	30.20	62	29.56
12	63		75		49		12	73½		92		63	
2	62½		76		53		2	73½		93½		59	
4	60		74½		50		4	71½	29.86	92	30.20	60	29.51
June							Dec.						
o'clock							o'clock						
10	55		65		47½		10	80½	29.876	99	30.220	70½	28.380
12	58		68		49		12	82		103		67½	
2	58		67		49		2	83½		100		68	
4	56½		63		49½		4	82½	29.895	100	30.160	67	29.460
July							Jan. 1845						
o'clock							o'clock						
10	54½		59		48		10	83½	29.835	102½	30.085	70	29.520
12	54		60		48		12	85		106		70	
2	55½		60½		49½		2	85		106½		70	
4	53½		58½		49		4	84½	29.902	101½	30.000	71	29.450
Aug.							Feb.						
o'clock							o'clock						
10	57	29.82	63	30.29	53	29.51	10	76⅜	29.796	94½	30.120	70½	26.615
12	58½		67		53		12	79⅜		97		70	
2	59½		68		52		2	79½		94		71	
4	57½	29.70	61½	30.20	53	29.33	4	79	29.839	97½	30.020	70½	29.520
Sept.							March						
o'clock							o'clock						
10	59	29.89	66	30.23	53½	29.12	10	77½	29.967	97	30.175	66½	29.080
12	60½		69		54½		12	80⅝		102		69½	
2	61⅜		72½		55½		2	77½		103½		68½	
4	60	29.80	72	30.16	53½	29.	4	79	29.970	100	30.165	68	29.730

ABSTRACT OF RAIN GAUGE for the Five Years 1839–1843, kept at West Terrace, by G. S. Kingston, Esq.

Year.	Depth in inches.	Days with rain.
1839,	19.840	102
1840,	23.997	99
1841,	18.045	93
1842,	20.418	119
1843,	17.217	105
Average,	19.902	103.6

MEAN AVERAGE of each Month for the Seven Years 1838–1844. (Only the last Five Months of 1838 are given, and the first Ten Months of 1844.)

Month.	Depth of rain.	Days.
January,	0.372	4
February,	0.705	4
March,	0.78	5
April,	1.624	10
May,	1.719	10
June,	2.387	11
July,	2.313	14
August,	2.729	15
September,	1.904	11
October,	1.886	10
November,	1.03	6
December,	1.762	5

The results of this average show the months of June, July, and August to be those in which the greatest quantity of rain falls.

New Zealand.

From Dr Martin's Work, Appendix No. V. p. 378.

MEAN TEMPERATURE OF THE AIR at Auckland during the Years ended in August 1841–1844.

Seasons.		1840-41.			1841-42.			1842-43.			1843-44.		
		A.M. 8	P.M. 2	P.M. 8	A.M. 8	P.M. 2	P.M. 8	A.M. 8	P.M. 2	P.M. 8	A.M. 8	P.M. 2	P.M. 8
Spring...	September	53	59	52	51	56	51	53	59	50	54	59	51
	October....	55	63	53	53	64	54	54	60	51	55	62	53
	November	58	67	53	59	67	56	60	66	55	59	65	56
Summer	December..	66	73	60	62	70	57	64	67	57	63	69	59
	January...	72	78	64	68	73	63	64	72	60	65	73	63
	February..	70	74	60	70	75	64	65	72	62	64	70	62
Autumn	March.....	64	68	59	63	73	60	62	70	61	62	69	60
	April.....	57	67	56	57	65	58	59	66	56	61	66	58
	May.....	52	60	54	54	60	52	52	60	52	52	59	50
Winter	June.....	48	57	51	50	55	48	49	59	49	49	55	47
	July.....	47	54	47	49	55	48	47	51	48	46	52	44
	August.....	52	57	50	49	56	48	50	57	49	49	55	48
Mean of the year.....		58.20			58.20			57.40			57.23		

QUANTITY OF RAIN (in inches) that fell at Auckland from September 1843 to September 1844.

SPRING.			SUMMER.			AUTUMN.			WINTER.			Total.
Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May.	June.	July.	Aug.	
3.70	4.50	1.64	0.81	0.36	1.20	1.55	4.49	1.97	3.10	4.82	2.50	
9.84			2.37			8.01			10.42			30.64

By making allowance for absorption, as the rain gauge employed is made of painted wood, and also for evaporation, the quantity of rain that fell during twelve months may be estimated at 31.50 inches.

B.—Page 41.

Ratio of Mortality of the British Troops stationed in the Colonies.

The following statistics on this subject are mostly from Marshall and Hullock's Reports, given by Surgeon Balfour, on the health of troops. They relate to the natives of the British Isles serving abroad during peace. The deaths of the troops on sea voyages are not included.—Annual Mortality per 1000 Troops in

New South Wales,		14.1
Cape of Good Hope,	1818 to 1836,	15.1
Nova Scotia and New Brunswick,	... ...	18
Malta,	... ...	18.7
Canada, Upper and Lower,	... ...	20
Gibraltar,	... ...	22
Ionian Isles,	... ...	28
Mauritius,	... ...	30
St. Helena,	... ...	35
Madras Presidency,	1826 to 1830,	52
Bombay Presidency,	... ...	55
Ceylon Presidency,	1821 to 1836,	57
Bengal Presidency,	1826 to 1830,	63
Windward and Leeward Command,	1817 to 1836,	85
Jamaica,	1826 to 1830,	143
Hong Kong,	1844,	300
Sierra Leone,	... ...	483

The Cape Colony, which ranks nearest to New South Wales in the above list, is not greatly dissimilar in the nature of its climate from Sydney and its vicinity, to which the observation on New South Wales alludes.

As a means of comparison, the following is the average annual mortality among some of the military in Britain:

Mortality in seventeen of the largest towns in Britain where troops are stationed, . 15.7
Mortality among the Foot Guard, . . 21.0
Mortality among troops serving in the United Kingdom, 15

The great mortality experienced at some of the colonial stations stimulated inquiry as to the means of improving and maintaining the health of the military. Fresh meat is now issued to the soldiers five times per week, reliefs are more frequent, and other beneficial changes have been effected. Jamaica, the West Indies, Bermudas, Mauritius, and St Helena, have been in particular improved by the new arrangements. Since writing the text I have met with some of these late results.*

The following table exhibits the mortality among white troops at the undermentioned stations for the two years antecedent to 31st March 1846, compared with the mortality for the twenty years antecedent to 1836, as shown in the military statistical reports quoted above.—Annual Ratio per 1000 Persons at

	New rate.	Old rate.		New rate.	Old rate		New rate.	Old rate
Gibraltar,	12 3/10	22	Bermuda,	11 4/10	32 1/10	New S. Wales,	15	14
Malta,	18	18 7/10	Nova Scotia, &c.	10 1/10	17 8/10	Van D. Land,	12 1/10	
Ionian Islands,	13 1/10	28 1/10	Canada,	15 4/10	20	Cape of G. Hope,	12 1/10	15 5/10
			Newfoundland,	10 1/10	37 1/10	St. Helena,	8 1/10	33
Total Mediterranean stations,	14	23 8/10	Total American stations,	13 7/10	21 8/10	Total of these four,	13 6/10	21 8/10

Tropical or unhealthy Stations:

	New rate.	Old rate.
Mauritius,	22.3	30.1
Jamaica,	29.7	128.6
West India Islands,	59.1	82.5
Ceylon,	44.2	75
Total average,	42.1	84.2

Colony of Hong Kong, 1842-5.

Annual mortality per 1000 persons

1842,.....320
1843,.....407
1844,.....291
1845,.....154

At Hong Kong arrangements are now in progress for having the duty performed by Malays, so as to prevent the destruction of European lives. The East Indies have also been very unhealthy. For the years 1845 and 1846, the mortality at Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, has averaged annually seventy-eight persons per 1000.

Under the new arrangements, New South Wales stands less conspicuously prominent on the sanitary scale.

* Journal of Statistical Society, vol. x. part iii. p. 252, &c.

TABULAR VIEW, representing the present Numbers of the Aboriginal Native Population scattered over various Localities of the Colony of New South Wales. Extracted from the Replies to Circulars, transmitted by the Aborigines Committee of the Legislative Council.

Locality.	Where Situated.	Adults.			Children.			Total Males	Total Fem.	General Total.	Authority.
		Male.	Fem.	Total.	Males.	Fem.	Total.				
District of Port Phillip,	or Australia Felix	1750	1400	3150	...	...	1850	...	...	5000	Robinson, C.P.A.
Grant County,	Do.	...	...	...	...	...	...	134	66	200	Addis
Belfast, Port Fairy,	Normanby Co. Do.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	300	Rev. J. G. Wilson
Yarra & Western Port	Western Port Dt. Do.	...	...	...	...	...	...	99	66	165	Thomas, Assist. P.A.
Upper Goulburn and	Campaspé River Do.	107	108	215	...	...	87	...	...	302	Parker, Do.
Lower Do.	Do.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	200	Do. Do.
Country N. & W. of	Do.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	350	Do. Do.
River Loddon	Do.	248	199	447	...	...	223	...	...	670	Do. Do.
Western Port District	Do.	350	250	600	250	150	400	600	400	1000	Powlett, C.C.L.
Portland Bay Do.	Do.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3000	Fyans ...
Murray Do.	Do.	75	60	135	35	30	65	110	90	200	Smythe ...
Gipps' Land Do.	Do.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1000	Tyers ...
New S. Wales (excl. of	Australia Felix)	4000	2500	6500	2300	1200	3500	6300	3700	10,000	Estimate by Author
Campbelltown	Cumberland County	7	6	13	1	3	4	8	9	17	Rev. J. Innes
Windsor	Do.	40	9	49	...	...	16	...	...	65	Bench of Magistrates
Brisbane Water	Northumberland Co.	27	13	40	4	3	7	31	16	47	Do.
Gosford	Do.	27	13	40	...	...	10	...	...	50	Rev. E. Rodgers
Morpeth	Do.	15	5	20	3	...	3	18	5	23	— G. A. Middleton
Newcastle	Do.	20	5	25	2	2	4	22	7	29	— C. P. N. Wilton

Wollombi and M'Donald River	Do.	44	21	65	5	3	8	49	24	73	Dunlop
Lower Hawkesbury R.	Do. and Cumberland	16	7	23	...	...	4	...	...	27	Rev. W. W. Simpson
Vale of Clwyd	Cook County	9	9	18	...	...	4	...	...	22	— C. Stewart
Dungog	Durham County	46	14	60	...	...	3	...	...	63	Bench of Magistrates
Patterson	Do.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	150	Rev. W. Ross
Singleton	Do.	45	15	60	8	2	10	53	17	70	— F. Cameron
Port Macquarie	Macquarie County	210	80	290	...	...	80	...	...	370	Gray; Woodward
Scone	Brisbane County	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	75	Bench of Magistrates
Mudgee	Wellington County	26	18	44	...	...	11	...	...	55	Rev. J. Gunther
Raymond Terrace	Glo'ster County	30	16	46	...	...	7	...	...	53	Bench of Magistrates
Bathurst	Bathurst County	...	...	...	...	...	...	75	75	150	Do.
Picton	Camden County	28	24	52	8	7	15	36	...	67	Do.
Berrima	Do.	20	15	35	...	...	5	...	...	40	Do.
Woollongong	Do.	34	40	74	...	...	19	...	...	93	Rev. M. D. Meares
Goulburn	Argyle County	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	25	Bench of Magistrates
Queanbeyan	Murray County	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	60	Murray
Districts of Fish River and Lake George	Do.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	150	Rev. R. Cartwright
MacLeay River	St Vincent County	290	111	401	16	12	28	306	123	429	Massie
District of Moreton Bay	North. part of New South Wales				...	...	...	2400	1600	4000	Wickham; Simpson
Darling Downs		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	500	Rolleston
New England		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	550	MacDonald
Murrumbidgee	Central Do.	1000	400	1400	400	200	600	1400	600	2000	Bingham C.C.L.
Manero	South-east Do.	311	195	506	...	...	177	...	...	683	Lambie

In the above table, the extent of the districts alluded to is not in general defined, which may account to some extent for occasional differences in the estimates of the native population of particular localities, as furnished to the legislative committee, one authority computing for a wider range of country than another. Thus the Port Macquarie District, stated in the table, on two authorities, to contain a native population of 370, is described by a third as having only about 100. There is generally, perhaps, a tendency to magnify the actual numbers of the aboriginal population, occasioned by their restless wandering, and coming continually into notice in the colonized localities, and in newly settled districts, by their being observed, when seen at all, generally in whole tribes. In some parts of the older settled territory all the members of the local tribe have died off; in others, as at Campbelltown and Bungonia, the tribes have been broken up, and their few and scattered remnants have joined themselves to other bodies. In Gipps' Land the numbers cannot be accurately estimated, as the natives there have retreated to the mountainous parts of the country, which are almost inaccessible to the settlers. The half-castes are included in this aboriginal population. There is a considerable proportion of this mixed race in several of the districts; there are, for instance, 11 at Woollongong, out of 19 children, and at Picton there are 9 young and 2 adult half-castes.

D.—Page 81.

Reputed Sterility of Aboriginal Females.

It has been ascertained, remarks Strzelecki (pages 346 and 347), with reference to various aboriginal tribes, including those of New Zealand, New South Wales, and Van Diemen's Land, that the aboriginal woman, after connexion with a European male, "loses the power of conception on a renewal of intercourse with the male of her own race, retaining only that of procreating with the white man."

I shall quote two competent authorities, namely, Mr Robinson, Chief Protector of Aborigines for Port Phillip, and Mr Moorhouse, Protector of Aborigines for South Australia, to show that the existence of the extraordinary physical law propounded by Strzelecki

cannot be relied on,—at all events in the case of Australian and Van Diemen's Land aborigines.

Extract of a letter, G. A. Robinson, Esq., to the Author, dated Melbourne, 5th October 1846.—"Three Van Diemen's Land aboriginal females were abducted from their tribe by sealers, with whom they lived for more than twenty years and had children. Subsequently, on being removed to Flinders' Island, they had issue by their own race. These cases are sufficient to show that the hypothesis of Count Strzelecki, at least as far as the Van Diemen's Land aboriginal females are concerned, is untenable. The above is from memory—a reference to my journals would furnish other cases."

Extract of a letter from Mr Moorhouse to Mr Robinson, dated Adelaide, 14th November 1846.—"If, as he (Count Strzelecki) states, sterility be produced in a black woman by having intercourse with white men, we should have few children born; for I am satisfied that all the young women in the settled districts of South Australia have had intercourse with white men, and they continue child-bearing. Having a half-caste makes no difference to the native women at all."

E.—Page 138.

The Bunyup or Boynip, or Kianpraty of New South Wales.

Certain large fossil bones, found in various parts of Australia Felix, have been referred by the natives, when consulted on the subject by the colonists, to a huge animal of extraordinary appearance, called in some districts the Bunyup, in others the Kianpraty, which they assert to be still alive. It is described as of amphibious character, inhabiting deep rivers and permanent water-holes, having a round head, an elongated neck, with a body and tail resembling an ox. These reports have not been unattended to, and the Bunyup is said to have been actually seen by many parties, colonists as well as aborigines.

But an unlucky accident has somewhat lowered the value of aboriginal evidence on these scientific subjects. A skull of unusual appearance was picked up last year after the occurrence of a flood on the banks of the Lachlan near its junction with the Murrumbidgee. The aborigines of the neighbourhood, on being

shown the specimen, seemed to recognise at once an old acquaintance, and stated it to belong to a "piccinini Kianpraty," which had probably been swept off from its mother after birth, and perished in the flood; and many particulars were added regarding the dimensions and appearance of the full grown animal, whose head they described to be about the size of a bucket. The skull was safely deposited in Melbourne, and exciting a profound curiosity, appeared to have occasioned a beneficial effect in stimulating attention to the cause of science. The Bank of England, with reference to her notes, is said to possess an office which checks and exposes every forgery. An Argus of this description exists also in the world of science. Professor Owen, to whom I showed a drawing of the mysterious skull, found it to be that of a still older and more genuine acquaintance than the aborigines had suggested; it was the skull of a young calf!

I am indebted to the polite and distinguished professor for some cautionary views of aboriginal testimony. He considers it to be all but impossible that such a large animal as the bunyup of the Australian natives can be now living in the country, and yet neither the living specimen nor any portion of the body or skeleton have come under the notice of some intelligent eye. Such an animal cannot always be sleeping at the bottom of waterholes. It must breed, rear young, and roam about for food. I suspect it is only a tradition of the alligator or crocodile of the north.

F.—Page 157.

Copy of Conveyance from the Aborigines.

There were two tracts of country purchased by Batman. The following is a copy of the Deed of Conveyance for one of these sections, (Dr Lang's Phillip's Land, p. 27.) "Know all persons, that we, three brothers, Jagajaga, Jagajaga, Jagajaga, being the principal chiefs, and also Cooloolock, Bungarie, Yanyan, Moowhip, Momarmalar, being the chiefs of a certain native tribe called Dutigallar, situated at or near Port Phillip, called by us, the above mentioned chiefs, Irausnoo and Geelong, being possessed of the tract of land herein mentioned, for and in consideration of 20 pairs of blankets, 30 knives, 12 tomahawks, 10 looking-glasses, 12 pairs of scissors, 50 handkerchiefs, 12 red shirts, 4

flannel jackets, 4 suits of clothes, and 50 pounds of flour, delivered to us by John Batman, Esq., do give, grant, &c., all that tract of country, about 100,000 acres, in consideration of the yearly tribute of 50 pairs of blankets, 50 knives, 50 tomahawks, 50 pairs of scissors, 50 looking-glasses, 20 suits of slops or clothing, and 2 tons of flour."

To this deed were appended the names, or rather marks, and seals of the aborigines enumerated in it. The same extensive proprietors subsequently alienated an additional portion of their territory, to the extent of 500,000 acres, *more or less*, for 20 pairs of blankets, 30 tomahawks, 100 knives, 30 pairs of scissors, 30 looking-glasses, 200 handkerchiefs, 100 pounds of flour, and 6 shirts, with a yearly tribute similar to the preceding.

G.—Page 157.

I am further indebted to Dr Lang (Phillip's Land, p. 29) for copies of the "Case for Opinion," transmitted to Mr Burge of London, and of the opinion itself with regard to the legality of Batman's transaction with the natives.

"*Case for Opinion.*—The accompanying Report, No. 1, gives a detailed account of the occupation by Mr Batman of certain tracts of land situated at the south-eastern extremity of New Holland, and in the vicinity of a port marked upon the English charts as Port Phillip. The documents Nos. 2 and 3 are copies of deeds of feoffment in favour of Mr Batman, executed by the chiefs of the native tribe living at and contiguous to Port Phillip. The document No. 4 is the copy of a letter addressed by the members of the Association for forming a settlement upon the tracts of land in question to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, soliciting a confirmation on the part of the Crown of the tracts of land granted by the deeds Nos. 2 and 3. This letter has not yet been delivered to the Colonial Secretary. The tracts of country in question are within the limits of Australia as defined in the maps, of which the line extends from the Australian Bight to the Gulf of Carpentaria; but they are situated some hundred miles from New South Wales, which is only a part of Australia. Port Phillip was named after Governor Phillip, the first governor of New South Wales, who formed a temporary settlement there, which was immediately abandoned,

and no act of ownership has since been exercised by the Crown. The natives are, as appears by the Report, an intelligent set of men, and the grants were obtained upon equitable principles, of which the reservation of the tribute is strong evidence, and the purport of the deeds was fully comprehended by them. The gentlemen composing the Association have possessed themselves of the tracts of country in question, and have flocks and other property there of the value of at least £30,000. The following documents are added, as tending to illustrate the present situation of the colonists, as well as their views and intentions:—No. 5. Copy Answer returned through the office of the Colonial Secretary of Van Diemen's Land to Mr Batman's Report, addressed to the Lieutenant governor. No. 6. Map of the Ceded Territory. No. 7. Copy Indenture made by John Batman, Charles Swanston, and others, for defining the objects of the parties who propose to establish a settlement on the ceded territories. No. 8. Copy Conveyance of the Ceded Territories made by Mr Batman, and relative Declaration of Trust. Your opinion is requested, 1. Whether the grants obtained by the Association are valid? 2. Whether the right of soil is or is not vested in the Crown? 3. Whether the Crown can legally oust the Association from their possessions? 4. What line of conduct or stipulations would you advise the Association to pursue and make with the British Government; in particular, ought they to offer Government any specific terms, or ought the whole of the documents now laid before you to be at once communicated to Government, or ought such communication to embrace only part of them, and if so, what part?"

Mr Burge's opinion, a document of much general interest and of great ability, is as follows:—

"*Opinion.*—1 and 2. I am of opinion, that, as against the Crown, the grants obtained by the Association are not valid, and that, as between Great Britain and her own subjects, as well as the subjects of foreign states, the right to the soil is vested in the Crown. It has been a principle adopted by Great Britain, as well as by the other European states, in relation to their settlements on the continent of America, that the title which discovery conferred on the Government, by whose authority or by whose subjects the discovery was made, was that of the ultimate dominion in, and sovereignty over, the soil, even whilst it continued in possession of the aborigines. Vattel, b. ii. c. 18. This principle was reconciled with humanity and justice towards the aborigines, because the dominion was qualified by allowing them to retain, not only the rights of occupancy, but also a

restricted power of alienating those parts of the territory which they occupied. It was essential that the power of alienation should be restricted. To have allowed them to sell their lands to the subjects of a foreign state would have been inconsistent with the right of the state, by the title of discovery, to exclude all other states from the discovered country. To have allowed them to sell to her own subjects would have been inconsistent with their relation *of subjects*. The restriction imposed on their power of alienation consisted in the right of pre-emption of these lands by that state, and in not permitting its own subjects or foreigners to acquire a title by purchase from them without its consent. Therein consists the sovereignty of a dominion or right to the soil, asserted and exercised by the European Government against the aborigines, even whilst it continued in their possession. The commission granted by England to Cabot, the charter to Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1578, and which was afterwards renewed to Sir Walter Raleigh, the charter to Sir Thomas Gates and others in 1606, and to the Duke of Lennox and others in 1620, the grants to Lord Clarendon in 1663, and to the Duke of York in 1664, recognise the right to take possession on the part of the Crown, and to hold in absolute property, notwithstanding the occupancy of the natives. The cession of 'all Nova Scotia or Acadia, with its ancient boundaries,' made by France to Great Britain by the 12th article of the treaty of Utrecht in 1703, and the cession of other lands in America, made at the peace of 1763, comprised a great extent of territory which was in the actual occupation of the Indians. Great Britain, on the latter occasion, surrendered to France all her pretensions to the country west of the Mississippi, although she was not in possession of a foot of land in the district thus ceded. But that which Great Britain really surrendered was her sovereignty, or the exclusive right of acquiring, and of controlling the acquisition by others of lands in the occupation of the Indians. On the cession by Spain to France of Florida, and by France to Spain of Louisiana, and on the subsequent retrocession of Louisiana by Spain to France, and the subsequent purchase of it by the United States from France, these powers were transferring and receiving territories, the principal parts of which were occupied by the Indians. The history of American colonization furnishes instances of purchases of land from the native Indians by individuals. The most memorable is the purchase made by William Penn. It has, however, been observed by Chief Justice Marshall, in the case of Johnson *v.* M'Intosh, 8 Wheaton's Report 570,

that this purchase was not deemed to have added to the strength of his title. Previously to this purchase the lands called Pennsylvania, and which comprised those subsequently purchased by him, had been granted by the Crown to him and his heirs in absolute property, by a charter in 1681, and he held a title derived from James II. when Duke of York. He was, in fact, as a proprietary governor, invested with all the rights of the Crown, except those which were specially reserved. Another instance is the purchase from the Narraghanset Indians of the lands which formed the colonies of Rhode Island and Providence. They were made by persons whose religious dissensions had driven them from Massachusetts. The state of England at this period might account for this transaction having escaped the attention of the Government. It is evident, however, that the settlers were not satisfied with the title acquired by this purchase; for, on the restoration of Charles II., they solicited and obtained from the Crown a charter, by which Providence was incorporated with Rhode Island. The grant is made to them 'of our Island called Rhode Island,' and of the soil as well as the powers of Government. The judgment of Lord Hardwicke, in the case of Penn *v.* Lord Baltimore, 1. Ves. 454, is not inconsistent with, but in many respects supports, this view of the rights of the Crown and its grantees. In all the colonies which now constitute the United States, the Crown either granted to individuals the right in the soil, although occupied by the Indians, as was the case in most of the proprietary governments, or the right was retained by the Crown, or vested in the Colonial Government. The United States, at the termination of the Revolution, acquired the right to the soil which had been previously vested in the Crown, for Great Britain by treaty relinquished all claim 'to the proprietory and territorial rights of the United States.' The validity of titles acquired by purchases from the Indians has been on several occasions the subject of decision in the courts of the United States. The judgment of Chief Justice Marshall, in the case of Johnson *v.* M'Intosh, contains the elaborate opinion of the Supreme Court, that the Indian title was subordinate to the absolute ultimate title of the Government, and that the purchase made otherwise than with the authority of the Government was not valid. A similar decision was given by the same court in the case of Worcester *v.* the State of Georgia, in January 1832. (3. Kent's Com. 382, and the case referred to in the note, p. 385.)—3. I am of opinion that the Crown can legally oust the Association from their posses-

sion. The enterprise manifested by the expedition, the respectability of the parties engaged in it, and the equitable and judicious manner in which they conducted the intercourse with the native tribes, and made their purchase, afford a strong ground for anticipating that the Crown would, in conformity with its practice on other occasions, on a proper application, give its sanction to and confirm the purchase which the Association has made. Lord Hardwicke, in the case which has been referred to, expressed a very strong opinion, that the possession of persons making these settlements ought to receive the fullest protection. There is no ground for considering that the lands comprised in this purchase are affected by the Act erecting South Australia into a Province, 4 and 5 W. IV. c. 75. They are clearly not within the boundaries assigned to the territory, which is the subject of the Act, and therefore the Crown is not precluded from confirming the purchase.—4. I am of opinion that the Association should make an application to the Government for a confirmation of the above purchase, and accompany it with a full communication, not only of all the documents now laid before me, but of every other circumstance connected with the acquisition.—WILLIAM BURGE, Linc. Inn, 16th Jan. 1836."

In this opinion Mr Pemberton, one of the ablest counsel at the chancellor's bar, and Sir W. Follett, late attorney-general, concurred, in the following terms:—

"We have perused the extremely able and elaborate opinion of Mr Burge, and entirely concur in the conclusions at which he has arrived upon each of the queries submitted to us.—THOMAS PEMBERTON, W. W. FOLLETT, Jan. 21, 1836."

II.—Page 224.

Return of Mines in the Province of South Australia, at the close of the Year 1845.

Name of Mine, or Locality.	Description.	Distance in a direct line from Adelaide in miles.	Bearings from Adelaide.	Remarks.
Kanmantoo, on the Rocky Creek, near Mount Barker,	Copper Mine.	25	E. 20° S.	The Mines marked thus * were in operation in 1844.
* Kapunda,	...	44	N. 18° E.	
* Montacute,	...	10	N. 67° E.	
Burra Burra,	...	86	N. 8° E.	
Princess Royal,	...	83	N. 10° E.	
Horse-shoe, Onkaparinga,	...	17	S. 10° W.	
District C, Section No. 361,	...	20	S. 12° W.	
* Kangaroo Creek, River Torrens,	...	12	N. 62° E.	
Wakefield,	...	69	N.	
Neighbourhood of Mount Remarkable,	...	150	N. 15° W.	
* Flaxman's Valley,	...	38	N. 39° E.	
District B, Sections No. 570 and 571,	...	12	S. 21° W.	
* District A, Second Creek,	...	4½	N. 105° E.	
* Rapid Bay,	Lead & Copper.	67	S. 23° W.	
* Glen Osmond (several mines),	Lead.	3¼	E. 28° S.	

The following is a comparative statement of the quantities and estimated value of ores exported from South Australia, in the years 1844 and 1845:

Year.	Ore exported.	Quantity.	Estimated value.
			£ s. d.
1844	Lead.	203 tons	2,427 0 0
1845	..	175 tons 19 cwts. 0 q. 9 lbs.	1,839 8 0
1844	Copper.	277 tons	4,009 10 0
1845	..	931 tons 16 cwts. 3 q. 20 lbs.	17,179 5 6

Total quantity, and estimated value at Port Adelaide, of both kinds of ore exported:

	Tons.	Cwt.		£	s.	d.
In 1844,	480	0	.. valued at ..	6,436	10	0
.. 1845,	1157	16	.. .. ..	19,018	13	6

The Kapunda, Montacute, and Burra Burra, are the only three mines which have been worked to any considerable extent.

Compiled from records in the Colonial Secretary's Office.

Colonial Secretary's Office 31st January 1846.

A. M. Mundy, *Colonial Secretary.*

I.—Page 234.

Abstract of New Regulations for the Occupation of Waste Lands of the Crown in New South Wales.

(From the Daily News of 28th April 1847.)

Last night's *Gazette* contains an order in council passed on the 9th of March, establishing rules for regulating the occupation of waste lands of the crown in New South Wales, in virtue of the powers conferred by the act passed this year to amend the Australian Land Sales Act. The subject itself is too difficult, and the regulations too complicated, to admit of our pronouncing an extempore judgment on their merits, but as it is of the utmost consequence that all having an interest in the colony should, without loss of time, be put in possession of the substance of these regulations, we subjoin an abstract of the order in council. It is divided into four chapters, and each chapter consists of one or more sections.

CHAP. I.—*Division of Lands in New South Wales.*—Sec. 1. All lands in the colony are for the purposes of the present order to be considered as divided into three classes, according as they are situated in the settled, the intermediate, and the unsettled districts. Sec. 2. The settled districts comprehend,—1. The nineteen contiguous counties as proclaimed before 1st January 1838. 2. The reputed counties of Macquarie and Stanley. 3. All lands within twenty-five miles measured or reckoned from any part of the limits of Melbourne. 4. All lands within fifteen miles of the limits of Geelong. 5. All lands within ten miles of the limits of Portland, in the county of Normanby; Alverton, in the district of Gipps' Land; Eden, in the county of Auckland; Bathurst, in the county of Roxburgh; Wellington, in the county of that name; the town at the head of the navigation of the Clarence; Macquarie, in the county of that name; and Ipswich, in the county of Stanley. 6. All lands within three miles (in a straight line) of the sea, throughout the colony. 7. All lands within two miles of either bank of the following rivers:—The Glenelg, from a point to be fixed by the governor, nor lower than the junction of the Crawford or higher than that of Wannow; the Clarence, from a point to be similarly fixed, not more than two miles above the township at the head of the navigation, and not less than fifty miles from the sea; the Richmond, from a point to be similarly fixed not less than twenty miles from the sea.—Sec. 3. The intermediate districts shall comprehend all

lands within the counties of Bourke, Grant, and Normanby, not included in the settled lands; all lands in the county of Auckland not similarly included; the whole district of Gipps' Land with a similar exception; the counties formed, or to be formed, between the counties of Auckland and St Vincent; and any county or counties proclaimed before the 31st of December 1848.—Sec. 4. The unsettled lands shall comprise all the remaining lands of the colony.

CHAP. II.—*Rules to be enforced within the Unsettled Districts.*—Sec. 1. The governor may grant leases of runs for any term of years not exceeding fourteen for pastoral purposes, with leave to cultivate grain, hay, vegetables, or fruit, for the use of the family, and not for sale or barter; such leases not to interfere with the governor's right to enter upon any lands in the lease for the purposes of public defence or utility.—Sec. 2. The rent to be proportioned to the number of sheep, or an equivalent number of cattle, the run can carry, each run to be capable of carrying at least 4000 sheep, or equivalent number of cattle, and not to be let for less than £10 per ann., with £2, 10s. per ann. for every additional 1000 sheep, or equivalent number of cattle.—Sec. 3. The number of sheep a run can carry to be estimated, before granting the lease, by two valuers, named, one by the intending lessee, the other by the commissioner of crown lands, with power to choose an umpire.—Sec. 4. The rents to be paid exclusively of existing assessments on sheep and cattle, without abatement on account of existing or future assessments, and without prejudice to the power of the colonial legislature to impose future assessments.—Sec. 5. The rent to be paid yearly, in advance, at the time and place specified in the lease; in default, the lease to be forfeited, but redeemable within sixty days, by payment of the rent, with one-fourth more of penalty. After sixty days, the lease to be indefeasibly forfeited, and any individual entitled to demand a new lease.—Sec. 6. During the continuance of a lease, no part of the run can be sold to any other than the lessee; the lessee may purchase, during its continuance, any portion of the run, not less than 160 acres, for a price not below the minimum of £1 per acre; when the portion purchased is less than 320 acres, the purchaser to pay the expense of survey.—Sec. 7. Every lot so sold must be subject to the following conditions:—1. It must be rectangular, unless the features of the country, or course of a stream, render a deviation necessary. 2. The two opposite sides of a stream shall, in no case, be included in the same lot. 3. No single lot shall have more than 440 yards of water-frontage

for 160 acres, and so on in proportion; but the water-frontage shall be reckoned in a straight line, not along to the windings of the stream; and the governor may refuse to sell lots that appear to give an undue command over water required for the beneficial occupation of adjoining lands.—Sec. 8. The governor may except from sales lands required for government uses, and may require to have lands, supposed to possess peculiar advantages, assessed by valuers (appointed as in sec. 3), in order to raise the price.—Sec. 9. Nothing in these regulations shall prevent the governor from making grants or sales of lands within the unsettled districts for sites of churches, schools, parsonages; for the construction of roads, railways, or railway stations; for the use of the aborigines; for public buildings, cemeteries, places of recreation, public quays, mines, &c. &c.—Sec. 10. If any railroad made through districts of unsettled lands, all lands within two miles of it, notwithstanding any lease, shall be liable to be sold at the end of each successive year, 60 days' previous notice having been given; rights of pre-emption, and to the value of improvements, reserved to lessees.—Sec. 11. All occupants of crown lands under licenses are entitled to demand leases of them within six months after the publication of this order, but not afterwards.—Sec. 12. Applications for leases of forfeited or vacant lands to be made by sealed tenders; if only one tender, the lease shall be given to the person making it, if the rent proposed is sufficient; if two or more, to the highest bidder; if several tenderers offer the same sums, a fresh day shall be fixed for lodging new tenders.—Sec. 13. Leases of fresh lands to be applied for in the same way; the tenders setting forth a clear description of the run, with its boundaries.—Sec. 14. A lease liable to forfeiture: 1. For non-payment of rent; 2. On conviction of the lessee for felony; 3. On adjudication of the lease as forfeited by two or more justices within three months of his conviction for any offence against the law by a justice of the district.—Sec. 15. On the expiring of a lease, the governor may put up all or any of the lands included in the run for sale, on these conditions; 1. That the previous lessee have a right of pre-emption at the unimproved price—not less than £1 per acre; 2. That if he decline, valuers shall be appointed (as in Sec. 3) to estimate his improvements; 3. That the upset price shall be the joint value of the land and improvements.—Sec. 16. If none of the run or less than one-fourth of it sold, and if the boundaries of the other two classes of lands not extended, the previous lessee shall be entitled to a renewal of his lease.—Sec. 17. The rent of every lease, after the expiration of the first, to be on the number

of sheep the land can carry as improved; the lessee, whose lease is renewed, to be exempt from any increase of more than 50 per cent. on the original lease.

CHAP. III.—*Rules applicable to intermediate lands*—Sec. 1. Of runs on such lands leases shall only be granted for eight years, and on sixty days' previous notice, portions of the run may be set up for sale at the end of every year during the term, reserving the same conditions in favour of the lessee as in case of a sale at the expiring of the term in unsettled districts.

CHAP. IV.—*Rules applicable to settled lands.*—The governor may grant leases for pastoral purposes for terms not exceeding one year; and he may make general rules under which holders of purchased lands within settled districts may depasture adjacent crown lands free of charge, provided such depasturage do not interfere with the right of government at any time to sell or lease for one year as above mentioned.

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DETAILED ESTIMATES of Sheep and Cattle Farming in Australia Felix (from Mr Gideon S. Lang's Pamphlet, "Land and Labour in Australia," &c., pages 87, 172.)

The intending emigrant will find the following details very useful to his purpose. They comprise the experience of a practical Australian squatter. The prices of the sheep are taken rather lower than they are at present, and likely in future to average in the country; and the rate of wages is since somewhat higher also. On the other hand, the price of wool is taken lower than it will probably range in future. On the whole, therefore, the estimates, as regards the changes that have taken place in these three elements, subsequently to the appearance of Mr Lang's work, may not be seriously affected.

The plan adopted in the following tabular views is, to bring up all expenses of the station to the end of the fourth year, when, from a commencement with a full flock of about 1600 sheep, Mr Lang calculates that the farm will be at that time in full working order with 4000 sheep. The total outlay to this period he finds to be £2729, 5s. But this includes interest at the rate of 16 per cent. (including £105 for interest during the outward passage), which accumulates on the progressive outlay during the four years, and amounts to no less than £1435. Every expense of outward passage, travelling, station-buildings, and improvements, are also included, together with risk of disease, &c., to

the live stock, and an annual remuneration of £100 a-year to the owner or manager. The first cost of the sheep is only about £400. The account, therefore, thus amply charged, yields, from the fifth year, a net profit of only $6\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. Mr Lang finds that 7000 sheep are a much more profitable number to allow the station to attain to; and in this case, on the same principle, he deduces the profits to be $19\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. per annum.

In referring the reader to the subjoined details, I shall only further observe, in explanation, that Table No. 1 exhibits the progress of forming a pastoral settlement from the emigrant's departure from Britain till the end of the fourth year after he has commenced operations, when he finds himself with a station containing 4000 sheep. Table No. 2 shows this station in full working operation. Table No. 3 shows a station containing 7000 sheep in full working order. Table No. 4 affords a comparison of the advantages of sheep and cattle farming.

TABLE No. 1.—*Expense of Emigrating to Port Phillip, Settling, and forming a Station capable of carrying* 4000 *Sheep. Capital*, £1400.

Outfit and passage of emigrant capitalist and family	£200	0	0			
Exchange on Bank Bills on London, two per cent.	28	0	0			
Living in Melbourne, while purchasing stock, &c., and looking out for a run, including the keep of a horse and travelling, six months	100	0	0			
Interest on capital from the time of leaving home until its investment here, £1400 nine months at ten per cent.	105	0	0			
				£433	0	0
Live Stock—						
1256 Ewes, at 5s. a-head	314	0	0			
300 Wedders, various ages, for home consumption, at 4s. 8d. a-head	60	0	0			
20 Rams, at 30s.	30	0	0			
2 Riding horses	30	0	0			
6 Picked broken-in dairy cows	18	0	0			
1 Bull	10	0	0			
3 Pair broken-in working bullocks, with yokes and chains, at £10 a-pair	30	0	0			
				492	0	0
Implements—						
1 Saddle and bridle	5	0	0			
1 Dray, £12; 1 tarpaulin, £5	17	0	0			
100 Hurdles, £7, 10s.; 2 watch-boxes, £3	10	0	0			
1 Plough, £5; 1 pair of harrows, £2, 10s; 1 steel mill, £4, 10s.	12	0	0			
Sundries, tools, cooking utensils, nails, ropes, &c. &c.	40	0	0			
				84	10	0
				1009	10	0
Buildings, &c.—						
Settler's House, furnished, single story, built of brick, plastered, floored and shingled	200	0	0			
Kitchen and men's hut, built of slabs, roofed with bark	15	0	0			
Two out-station huts, of bark	12	0	0			
Store, £10; stable £12, 10s.	22	10	0			
Small stockyard, with milking bale and calf pen	5	0	0			
Wool-shed, roofed with shingles, floored with slabs, shoelings laid with a grating of sawn stuff	60	0	0			
Carry forward	£314	10	0	1009	10	0

Brought forward			£314	10	0	£1009 10 0
Wool-press, with patent screw and packing box			30	0	0	
Wash-pool			10	0	0	
Fencing—						
Garden, 42 rods at 2s. 6d.			5	5	0	
Cultivation paddock, 160 rods at 1s. 8d.			13	6	0	
Grass ditto 560 rods at 1s. 8d.			46	13	4	
						419 15 0
Expenses during the first year—						
Moving the sheep to a run, dressing to prevent the breaking out of scab, with which they may have been infected travelling, removing until ground suitable for sheep is found, loss from natives and wild dogs at first settling			45	0	0	
Wages—						
2 shepherds, single men, at £20			40	0	0	
1 bullock-driver, and wife hutkeeper			25	0	0	
1 Extra hand			20	0	0	
Rations—						
½ lb. tea per week, 13 lbs. per annum, at 2s. per lb.	£1	6	0			
2 lbs. sugar, ,, 104 lbs. ,, at 2s. per lb.	1	6	0			
10 lbs. flour, ,, 520 lbs. ,, at 12s. per cwt.	3	2	4½			
5 for servants and one for strangers, at	£5	14	4½	34	6	4½
Shearing 2368 sheep at 12s. 6d. per hundred				14	17	3
Woolbags, 1 per hundred fleeces at 7s. 6d.				9	0	0
Travelling expenses to hire servants, purchase stores, dispose of wool, &c.				45	0	0
Taxes—1d. per head on sheep, cattle 3d., horses 6d.				10	2	0
Remuneration for settler's time and labour, out of which he must support himself and family				100	0	0
						343 5 8½
Annual return on investment—						
Interest on capital, 16 per cent. per annum				293	11	6½
Risks—						
Scab—Expense of curing 2000 out of 4000 sheep, once in five years, dressing stuff, labour, depreciation of wool, and loss of sheep, £101, 6s.				20	5	2½
Foot-rot—Expense incurred by one of every three settlers, every year, curing 200 sheep, with separate shepherding, and depreciation of wool, £25				8	6	8
Catarrh—£10, being at the rate of £2500 for the insurance of 1,000,000 sheep				10	0	0
Stores—Rise in price of provisions 100 per cent. every fourth year				8	11	7
Return upon capital due				330	14	11½
Nov.—Wool of 1238 ewes at 2½ lbs. each 3095						
,, 1104 lambs at 1½ lb. ,, 1380						
,, 20 rams at 4 lbs. ,, 80						
4555 lbs. at 11d.				208	15	5
						121 19 6
						1894 10 3
Second Year—						
Expenses at the same rate as the first year, proportioned to the additional stock				391	19	8
Nov.—By Wool of 3557 sheep 7841 lbs. at 11d.	£359	7	7			
Feb.— ,, Ewes of original stock, 400 at 5s.	100	0	0			
				459	7	7
Balance in favour of profit				67	7	11
Annual returns due—						
Interest on capital, 16 per cent.	303	1	10			
Risks—Diseases	38	12	8			
Stores	12	17	4			
				354	11	10
						286 3 11
Carry forward						£2180 14 2

Brought forward				£2180 17 2
Third Year—				
Expenses as before		£407 17 0		
By Wool of 4022 sheep, 9266 lbs. at 11d.	£424 17 10			
By Ewes of original stock, 400 at 5s.	100 0 0			
		524 13 10		
Balance in favour of profit		116 16 10		
Annual returns due—				
Interest on capital, 16 per cent.	349 0 2½			
Risks	51 0 11½			
		400 2 2		
			283 13 4	
			2464 7 6	
Fourth Year—				
To expenses as before		407 17 0		
By Wool of 4020 sheep, 10,759 lbs. at 11d.	493 2 5			
,, Cast of ewes, last of original stock, 383 at 5s. a head	95 15 0			
		588 17 5		
Balance in favour of profit		181 0 5		
To annual returns on investment—				
Interest on capital, 16 per cent.	394 7 11			
Risks	51 10 0			
		445 17 11		
			264 17 6	
Total outlay				£2729 5 0

TABLE No. 2.—*Fifth Year—when the Station is in full operation, with a full cast of fat sheep to sell off, and the stock in regular five-year rotation.*

Total outlay as per Table No. 1.				£2729 5 0
Wages—				
2 Shepherds, single men, at £20			40 0 0	
1 Ditto, with wife hutkeeper			25 0 0	
1 Bullock Driver, do.			25 0 0	
1 Extra hand			20 0 0	
1 Single Woman (house servant)			15 0 0	
Rations for nine, at £2, 12s., flour being raised on the station			23 8 0	
Shearing 4006 sheep, at 12s. 6d. per hundred			25 0 0	
Woolbags, one per hundred fleeces, 40 at 7s. 6d.			15 0 0	
Washing—five hands six days at 3s. per day, finding themselves			4 10 0	
Travelling expenses.—Taking wool to port, disposing of and driving cast, hiring servants, &c. &c.			60 0 0	
Tear and Wear—				
Horses, (each lasting six years)		£5 0 0		
Bullocks, ditto		4 10 0		
Rams, kept two years, then sold at 33 per cent. below first cost		5 0 0		
Dray, wool-press and shed, houses, tools, &c. &c.		20 10 0		
Hurdles, 100 per annum		7 10 0		
			42 10 0	
Taxes.—4000 sheep at 1d. each, 12 cattle at 3d., 2 horses at 6d.			16 19 0	
Sundries.—Nails, ropes, salt, tar, &c. &c.			10 0 0	
Remuneration to the settler for his time and labour as Superintendent, out of which he must support himself and family			100 0 0	
Annual expenses			422 7 0	
By Wool, 10,565 lbs. at 11d.		£484 4 7		
,, Cast ewes,....396				
,, Do. wedders,..296				
——692, average weight, 60 lbs., at 5s.		173 0 0		
			657 4 7	
Carry forward				£1079 11 7

Brought forward		£1079 11 7
Gross Annual Profit	}	234 17 7
Do. on outlay, 8½ per cent.	}	
Risks		51 9 11
Net Annual Profit	}	183 7 7
Do. on outlay, 6¾ per cent.	}	

TABLE No. 3.—*Expense of Emigrating to Port Phillip, Settling, and forming a Station carrying* 7000 *Sheep.*

Total Outlay, when the station is complete and the Stock in full five-year rotation, calculated in the same manner and at the same rates as the preceding calculation of 4000 sheep*					£2739 9 6
Annual expenses—					
Wages.—4 Shepherds, single men, at £20			80 0 0		
2 Ditto, married, with wives, hutkeepers			50 0 0		
1 Bullock driver ditto			25 0 0		
1 Extra hand (superior)			30 0 0		
1 Single Woman (house servant)			15 0 0		
Rations for 13 at £2, 12s., flour being raised on the station			33 16 0		
Shearing 7000 sheep, at 12s. 6d.			43 15 0		
Woolbags—One per hundred fleeces, 70 at 2s. 6d.			26 5 0		
Washing—Six hands, eight days at 3s. per day, finding themselves			7 4 0		
Travelling Expenses.—Taking Wool to Port, disposing of and driving cast, hiring servants, &c. &c.			70 0 0		
Tear and Wear—					
3 Horses (each lasting six years)	£7 10 0				
35 Rams, two years in each of two flocks of ewes, then sold at one-third of first cost	3 15 0				
12 Bullocks (each lasting six years)	9 0 0				
Drays, wool shed and press, houses, fences, &c.	20 15 0				
150 Hurdles per annum, at £7, 10s. per hundred	11 5 0				
			52 5 0		
Taxes.—7000 sheep at 1d., 3 horses at 6d., 22 head of cattle 3d.			29 10 4		
Sundries.—Tools, nails, salt, tar, ropes, &c. &c.			19 0 0		
Remuneration to the settler for his time and labour as Superintendent, out of which he must support himself and family			100 0 0		
Annual expenses			581 15 4		
By Wool, 18,408 lbs. at 11d.	847 7 4				
Cast ewes,....809					
Do. wedders, ..629					
—1438 at 5s.	359 10 0				
			1206 17 4		
Gross Annual Profit		}	625 2 0		
Do. on outlay, 22¾ per cent. per annum		}			
Risks,—Diseases	67 10 9½				
Stores	17 14 5½				
			85 5 3		
Net Annual Profit		}	539 16 9		
Net Annual Profit on Outlay, 19¾ per cent. per annum		}			
Total outlay					£2739 9 6

* The outlay for 4000 and 7000 are nearly the same, 5000 give £2500 as their outlay, and 6000 give £2890; above 7000 the cost again rises, so that this is the most profitable number.

TABLE No. 4.—*Account of the Outlay, Expenses, Profits, &c., of Settling in Port Phillip, the whole being calculated in the same ratio as in the calculation for 4000 Sheep.*

CAPITAL INVESTED IN STATION CONTAINING	4000 SHEEP.				7000 SHEEP.				1300 HEAD CATTLE.			
With Stock in full rotation, and Improvements, Implements, &c., complete.	per cent. per an.	£	s.	d.	per cent. per an.	£	s.	d.	per cent. per an.	£	s.	d.
Passage and other expenses before settling		328	0	0		334	0	0		324	0	0
Live stock		492	0	0		841	1	2		711	0	0
Buildings and other improvements		419	15	0		457	15	0		322	15	0
Implements		84	10	0		129	5	0		69	0	0
Charges during the first year of settling		343	5	8½		419	1	10½		274	5	3
Ditto during subsequent years, until returns are obtained		..				..				558	19	6
Accumulated deficiency of interest and trading profit upon capital, during four years and nine months, the time estimated to elapse from date of leaving Great Britain until the station and stock are complete		1061	14	4		558	6	5		1480	0	3
Total outlay upon station		2729	5	0½		2739	9	5½		3740	0	0
Ditto per head		0	13	7½		0	7	9½		2	17	6½
Ditto per thousand		628	6	3		391	7	0½				
Annual expenses		422	7	0		581	15	4		355	11	9
Ditto per head		0	2	1½		0	1	8		0	5	5½
Ditto per thousand		105	11	9		83	2	2½				
Gross annual return (upon outlay)	8½	234	17	7	22½	625	2	0	8½	320	8	3
Ditto per head		0	1	2		0	1	9½		0	4	11
Ditto per thousand		58	14	4½		89	6	0				
Insurance against diseases, &c. (upon outlay)	1½	51	9	11½	3	85	5	3	½	10	18	10
Ditto per head		0	0	3½		0	0	2½				
Ditto per thousand		12	17	5½		12	3	7				
Net annual return (upon outlay)	6½	183	7	7½	19½	539	16	9	8½	309	9	5
Ditto per head		0	0	11		0	1	6½		0	4	9
Ditto per thousand		45	16	10		77	2	4½				
License and assessment payable at present		16	19	0		39	10	4		36	7	8
Do. do. upon net return	9				7							

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Statistics of Wool.

N. B.—The words in the text, with reference to Australian wool, that "it now forms *upwards of* one half of the whole importation," were used inadvertently, and intended to refer to all colonial wool. I have not however entered this as an erratum, because I feel assured after all that the accounts of this year (1847) will show the statement to be literally true. The quantity from Australia and Van Diemen's Land will amount to about

28,000,000 of pounds weight, which is more than may be expected, in the present state of trade in this country, to arrive from foreign states.

IMPORTATION of Sheep and Lamb's Wool into Britain for the Twenty-one Years from 1826 to 1846 inclusive, distinguishing Foreign and Colonial Produce.

Year.	Lbs. Foreign.	Lbs. Colonial.	Total.	Year.	Lbs. Foreign.	Lbs. Colonial.	Total.
1826	14,748,344	1,240,768	15,989,112	1837	38,949,946	9,429,762	48,379,708
1827	28,552,792	562,549	29,115,341	1838	42,426,873	10,167,482	52,594,355
1828	28,632,240	1,603,819	30,236,059	1839	44,507,502	12,872,421	57,379,923
1829	19,639,629	1,877,020	21,516,649	1840	36,585,522	12,850,762	49,436,284
1830	30,303,173	2,002,141	32,305,314	1841	39,842,260	16,328,714	56,170,974
1831	29,109,437	2,542,592	31,652,029	1842	27,414,427	18,467,212	45,881,639
1832	25,667,782	2,461,191	28,128,973	1843	26,633,913	21,151,148	47,785,061
1833	34,431,177	3,614,910	38,046,087	1844	42,472,991	22,606,533	65,079,524
1834	42,684,247	3,770,985	46,455,232	1845	43,825,779	31,726,171	75,551,950
1835	37,472,176	4,702,356	42,174,532	1846	34,296,564	29,405,611	63,701,175
1836	57,817,493	6,422,484	64,239,977				

TABLE exhibiting in round numbers the Foreign and Colonial Wool Importation 1826 to 1846, with the Average for each Five Years, the numbers representing millions of pounds weight.

Year.	Foreign in Millions.		Colonial in Millions.		Total in Millions.	
1826	15		1		16	
1827	29		1		30	
1828	29	25	2	2	31	27
1829	20		2		22	
1830	30		2		32	
1831	29		3		32	
1832	26		2		28	
1833	34	34	4	4	38	38
1834	43		4		47	
1835	37		5		42	
1836	58		6		64	
1837	39		9		48	
1838	42	44	10	10	52	54
1839	45		13		58	
1840	37		13		50	
1841	40		16		56	
1842	27		18		45	
1843	27	36	21	22	48	58
1844	42		23		65	
1845	44		32		76	
1846	34		30		64	

Export of Wool from the Colony of New South Wales.

RETURN of the Quantity and Value of Wool Exported from the Colony of New South Wales (including the District of Port Phillip) from the Year 1826 to 1845 inclusive.

Year.	Quantity.	Value, as entered in the Return of Reports.
	Lbs.	£
1826	552,960	48,384
1827	407,116	24,306
1828	834,343	40,851
1829	1,005,333	63,555
1830	899,750	34,907
1831	1,401,284	75,979
1832	1,515,156	73,559
1833	1,734,203	103,692
1834	2,246,933	213,628
1835	3,893,927	299,587
1836	3,693,241	369,324
1837	4,448,796	332,166
1838	5,749,376	405,977
1839	7,213,584	442,504
1840	8,610,775	566,112
1841	8,390,540	517,537
1842	9,428,036	595,175
1843	12,704,899	685,647
1844	13,542,173	645,344
1845	17,364,734	1,009,242

M.—Page 287.

Abstract of the Church Act.

Seventh Wm. IV. No. 3. An act to promote the building of churches and chapels, and to provide for the maintenance of ministers of religion in New South Wales (29th July 1836).

When any sum not less than £300 has been raised by private contribution and applied to the building of any church or chapel

and minister's dwelling, a like sum will, on application, be contributed from the public money, such contribution not to exceed, in the case of any such church or chapel, £1000. There is, however, a power given to the Governor and Council to exceed this sum in particular cases.

In cases where 100 adults in a parish or district declare their wish to attend some church or chapel of the place, £100 a-year shall be awarded to the clergyman from the public funds; where there are 200 adults, £150 a-year; where 500 adults, the maximum stipend from public funds of £200 a-year.

In places where there happens yet to be no church, but where nevertheless there is a clergyman, if a sum not less than £50 have been raised for him by private contribution, a like sum, but not to exceed £100, shall be contributed from the public funds.

N.—Page 310.

Importation of Foreign Labour.—Immigration.

Colonial Secretary's Office,
Sydney, 7th April 1847.

I. Whereas, by reason of the difference of climate and soil, many commodities producible in this colony, such as wine, oil, silk, &c., are not produced in the United Kingdom, and the skilled labourers requisite for their culture or manufacture cannot in consequence be obtained by the colony from the mother country; and whereas it is deemed expedient to afford to such of the colonists as may desire to employ their land and capital in the production of such commodities as aforesaid, the means of providing themselves with the required labourers from such foreign countries as can supply them: His Excellency the Governor directs it to be notified, that, *subject to the approval of Her Majesty's Government*, and under the conditions hereinafter mentioned, there will be granted to settlers who shall be at the charge of bringing emigrants into New South Wales, *for their own services*, from the Continent of Europe, a pecuniary aid or bounty at the following rates:—

(1.) For a married man and wife neither of whose ages shall exceed on embarkation fifty years—£36.

(2.) For each child, male or female, above the age of fourteen years, for whose parents, or either of them, the foregoing bounty is allowed (but for no other children or unmarried persons)—£18.

II. Before any payments are made under this regulation, the immigrants on whose account they are claimed must present themselves before a Board appointed by the Governor to inspect them.

Each married man and each of his unmarried sons who shall have reached the age of eighteen years must produce to the Board testimonials of good character, and of their being duly qualified for the particular employment which they have been sent to the colony to fill. These testimonials must be signed by clergymen and respectable inhabitants of note in the place of the immigrant's former residence, and authenticated by a certificate of the Secretary to the Land and Emigration Commissioners in London, that after inquiry that Board has seen no reason to doubt their correctness or credibility.

Every individual for whom bounty is claimed must produce a certificate showing his or her parents' names and the age which he or she is known or reputed to be; and this certificate must be also authenticated by the Secretary to the Land and Emigration Commissioners.

If the Board shall be satisfied with these documents, and that the persons presented before them are within the prescribed ages, of sound mind and bodily health and strength, and in all other respects likely to be useful members of their class in society, and that they have been duly supplied during the voyage with a sufficiency of good and wholesome provisions and water, the latter in the proportion of at least three quarts per day for every emigrant, and with reasonably comfortable accommodation, a report to that effect will be made by the Board, and so soon thereafter as it shall be shown by the person bringing out the emigrants that he has removed them from Sydney or Melbourne (as the case may be), for the purpose of placing them *on his own property*, a warrant will be issued for the payment of the sum to which he shall be entitled under this notice.

III. Any settler desiring to avail himself of the bounties promised by this notice, must transmit to the Colonial Secretary at Sydney, or to the superintendent at Port Phillip, at Melbourne, a list, specifying, as accurately as circumstances will permit, the number, condition, and calling of the persons whom he may propose to bring out. In no case will bounties be allowed, unless

the claimant shall have made such application, and shall have received in reply an official intimation that (subject, as already stated, to the approval of her Majesty's Government) bounties will be granted on the introduction of the persons described in his list. The document containing this intimation must be produced before the Board by the claimant, who will be required, at the same time, to prove to the satisfaction of the Board that the immigrants have been imported in pursuance thereof. And in order to guard against the inconvenience of long outstanding claims against the Government, bounties will not be allowed unless the immigrants described in the application shall be presented to the Board within two years after the date of the notification of acceptance by the Colonial Secretary.

IV. To define the several descriptions of labourers for whom bounties will be allowed under this notice would be impossible, and an attempt to do so would be inconsistent with the object in view, which is to provide the supply of labour requisite for the progressive development of the capabilities of the soil as they may from time to time become further known. As a general rule, however, the Government will limit the allowance of bounty to such labourers as are requisite for raising articles the produce of the soil, and for bringing them into their simplest marketable shape. In illustration of this principle the cases of wine and silk may be instanced. In the former, bounties will be given for all descriptions of labourers necessary for the culture of the grape, and the manufacture and casking of the wine. In the latter case, bounties will be given for the labourers required for the production and preparation of the raw material, but not for its manufacture.

Bounties will not be allowed under this notice for persons above the labouring class, such as overseers, nor for any labourers of a description obtainable from the mother country.

V. The fund available for the purposes of this notice being very limited, it must not be expected that the Government will be able at once to promise the payment of bounties on every application which it may see no reason to disapprove. In any case, however, in which the Government may be restrained by no other cause than want of means from giving an immediate assent to an application, such application will be noted in the Colonial Secretary's Office, with a view to its being entertained in preference to others of a later date, whenever the requisite funds may be at the disposal of the Government.

VI. It is to be distinctly understood, that no quarantine or

other expenses whatever, attendant upon the introduction of emigrants under this notice, will be defrayed by Government, excepting the bounties hereinbefore mentioned.

VII. To prevent misapprehension and disappointment, and to ensure a rigid adherence to the principle of this regulation, it is proper to state that the whole of the conditions thereby imposed will be strictly construed. Parties, therefore, who may introduce immigrants not qualified by age, calling, character, or otherwise, will do so entirely at their own risk, and will have no claim on the Government to obtain the bounties offered by the present notice.

By His Excellency's command,

E. Deas Thomson.

N.*—Page 314.

Emigration.—The Rights of Passengers.

The following important circular on the rights of passengers, if their vessels be detained, wrecked, or put back in distress, has been issued by the Commissioners for Colonial Lands and Emigration to their several agents at the outports throughout the United Kingdom:—"Colonial Land and Emigration Office, 9 Park Street, Westminster, May 1847. Sir,—In order to assist you in the discharge of your duties, I am directed by the Board to make the following communication of their views on the rights of passengers under the existing law in cases where the ship is unduly detained, or obliged, from any cause, to put back into port after the commencement of the voyage. 1. By the 23d section of the Passengers' Act, if a ship shall not put to sea and proceed on her voyage on the day named in the contract, the passengers then ready to proceed in her must be victualled by the master in like manner as if they were at sea—that is, he must issue to them the quantities of provisions and water prescribed by the 6th section of the act. If the detention, unless unavoidable by reason of wind or weather, continues beyond two clear working days, the passengers have the option either of being victualled or of demanding from the master a payment of 1s. a-day each, from the expiration of the two days until the final

departure of the ship. Of course they are not entitled to this payment if they are suitably lodged and maintained on shore, with their own consent, at the cost of the persons who engaged to provide them with passages. 2. If a ship is obliged to put into port after having commenced her voyage, the passengers must be victualled in like manner as if they were at sea, but they are not entitled of right to subsistence money. If they chose to live on shore, the master, it is apprehended, would not be liable to provide for them, or to make them any allowance instead. In such cases, therefore, they should remain by the ship, and decline to quit her, unless the master will enter into some satisfactory arrangement for their support on shore. 3. After a vessel has once cleared and puts back, there exists, it is apprehended, no available legal means of compelling the master beforehand to replenish her stores, unless she requires to be again cleared; but the master will equally be liable to the penalties of the act if he fails to make the prescribed issues of provisions during the voyage; and of this both he and the passengers should be apprized before he sails again. Should the vessel require a fresh clearance, care should be taken that she previously has a full supply of provisions for the whole voyage; and even if she does not clear, every influence is to be tried to secure this essential object. 4. In case the sea stock put on board by the passengers themselves is partially or totally expended when a vessel puts back, there are no means of making good the loss, except by public benevolence. 5. Where a vessel puts into port in a damaged state, and the master refuses or neglects within a reasonable time (regard being had to the nature of the damage and the period requisite to repair it) to carry on the passengers who have received contract tickets, or where in case of wreck, or from any other cause, he refuses or omits to provide them with a fresh conveyance to their destination, the passengers will be entitled, as the Commissioners are advised, to a return of their passage-money from the persons who originally contracted to find them a passage. The money, however, is not recoverable under the provisions of the Passengers' Act, but must be sued for by the passengers themselves before the ordinary tribunals. In many places there are courts having a summary jurisdiction, where small sums can be received without much expense or delay. 6. It is therefore very important that emigrants should carefully preserve their contract tickets, as being the evidence of their rights on this head. The two great objects to look to in every case are, that the passengers are duly subsisted to the extent of

their rights, and that the vessel has her full stock of provisions on board before she sails.

" I have the honour to be, Sir,

" Your most obedient servant,

" S. WALCOTT, Secretary."

O.—Page 326.

Conditions with the British Government proposed by the Legislative Council with Reference to the proposed Resumption of Transportation.

These conditions chiefly import, " that the transportation of male convicts be accompanied, as a simultaneous measure, and at the expense of the British government, with the importation of an equal number of females, to consist of female convicts as far as they exist, and the balance to be made up of female immigrants;" and " that, as a further simultaneous measure, such transportation be accompanied with an equal transportation of free immigrants, as nearly as possible in equal proportion as to sexes." The wives and families of all convicts receiving indulgences should be brought out to them, and would be taken as part of the proportion of free immigration. Apprehensive that the resumption of transportation might check the tide of voluntary emigration from Britain to New South Wales, the committee are desirous of insuring a regular supply of labour for the future wants of the colony; and therefore, the system once sanctioned and commenced, they would require not less than 5000 convicts annually. They would reserve in the hands of the governor and council the sole power of framing regulations for the government and discipline of the convicts. The description of convicts they judged most suitable for the colony consisted as follows:—Boys convicted of first offences; convicts for graver offences who have served a probation under the separate system; convicts at the commencement of their sentences; and if any from Van Diemen's Land, they should be convicts with tickets-of-leave.

The committee have estimated that by the plan they contemplate the cost of convicts to the British government may be reduced

to about £31 each, from its present computed average of £100. The Transportation Committee of the Commons in 1838 ascertained that up to the end of 1836 the number of convicts transported to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land amounted to 96,558, and the total cost to the nation £8,483,519, or, deducting premiums obtained in the colonies for coin and treasury drafts, £7,976,324. The cost of conveyance was £28 a-head, and the total expense of each convict at least £82. The total convict expenditure for the year 1836-7 amounted to £488,013. (Report, pp. 36 and 37.) The vote of 1846 for the same object amounted to £313,000, viz. for convict establishments at New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, £250,000; for the hulks and establishments at home, at Bermuda, and at Gibraltar £63,000. Van Diemen's Land includes Norfolk Island. There are still the remnants of the convict establishment in the Sydney District. The Committee of Council conceived, that under proper regulations all the hulks and penitentiaries of Britain might be regularly emptied over the vast surface of New South Wales.

Q.—Page 343.

Future Boundaries of the proposed Colony of Australia Felix.

Australia Felix, or the Port Phillip District, though comprised within the territory of the colony of New South Wales, has always, from its earliest official existence, been recognised as a separate district from the rest of the colony. This separation was at first only in the light of a distinct pastoral or squatting district; but afterwards the official separation became better marked, by the appointment of a superintendent and other deputy government officers; and the Southern District, as it was designated, now comprises a group of three counties and five squatting districts, as exhibited in the map prefixed to this work, which are bounded by a line from Cape Howe to the River Murray, and thence to the 141st meridian.

The present boundaries are liable to objection on several grounds. At the western extremity, the dividing line from South Australia is the 141st degree of east longitude, a vague and uncertain boundary, which experience has shown to be highly inconvenient in the administration of the government of either colony. Again, on the northern side, the bounding-line of the

Murray takes a great sweep towards the south, at the place of junction with the Campaspé and the Goulburn, and excludes from the official limits a numerous pastoral population spread over the greater portion of the Tumut District, who are otherwise, by their commercial relations, a portion of the Port Phillip community.

With regard to this northern boundary, the Port Phillip colonists have proposed an extension beyond the Murray to the western bank of the Tumut, following that river to its junction with the Murrumbidgee, and thence to the Murray; thus including the whole of the Tumut District at present attached to the Sydney circuit. The bearing of commercial interests, more particularly in Australia where they happen to be of a distinct and centralizing character, is the most appropriate basis on which to determine these disputed territorial boundaries. In the absence of any distinct boundary a little further from the Sydney settlements, on which the Tumut certainly encroaches, that river forms perhaps the best dividing line that could be selected. The pastoral settlements to the north and east in connexion with Sydney are unimportant as compared with those of the thickly planted and fine pastoral country in the opposite direction and connected with Melbourne.

The question of the western boundary has already been a subject of correspondence between the respective governments of New South Wales and South Australia. But the only point on which agreement may be said to be arrived at, is the necessity for abandoning the present imaginary boundary line, and substituting one of a more distinct character. The noble stream of the Murray furnishes a well marked line, embracing a considerable additional territory to Australia Felix, and is therefore the ambitious choice of the Port Phillip colonists. This line for a western boundary has been recommended by the superintendent of Port Phillip, and by Sir Thomas Mitchell, the surveyor-general of New South Wales. A different view of this matter was to be expected from the South Australian authorities. The governor of that colony recommends an encroachment, not on South Australia but on Australia Felix, and substitutes for the Murray the courses of the Glenelg and the Wimmera.

In coinciding with the former of these views, I am aware that the boundary of the Murray would transfer to Australia Felix a considerable area of country that by relative proximity is connected with the port of Adelaide. But there is no intermediate boundary-line, and in the choice of evils in this respect, the lesser

is here inflicted. All the valuable minerals of South Australia appear to be confined to the opposite or western side of the Murray. The country adjacent to the eastern bank is also in general of a sterile character, the most available proportion being situated towards Port Phillip, and already in commercial relations with that settlement. The Port Phillip settlers have indeed moved with their sheep and cattle in considerable numbers beyond even the present boundary, and that which is proposed by the South Australian governor would make a further encroachment on the natural relations, and inconveniently divide a thickly occupied field of Port Phillip squatters. Even with the boundary of the Murray down to its junction with the sea, the future colony is still restricted, by South Australia to the west and New South Wales to the north, from any extension towards the interior. The Port Phillip colonists have already in fact crossed the Murray, and are spreading their flocks and herds over the lower parts of the Darling.

R.—Page 344.

Constitution of Colonial Legislatures.

I shall here confine my remarks to the formation of a colonial assembly, apart from the question of the latitude of privilege, which will be touched upon in the succeeding chapter. Some interest is attached to the whole of this subject by the Port Phillip colonists, in the prospect of their district being shortly raised to the position of an independent colony.

Only one defect occurs to me in the present construction of the New South Wales assembly, namely, the presence of the six *non-official* government nominees. The *official* members are the heads of the principal departments of government, and appear in the council not only to suggest, explain, or defend the measures of government, but to render information, perhaps not otherwise attainable by the legislative body. But the non-official "representatives" occupy an anomalous position. Appointed by the governor, their standing, as regards honour and responsibility and public estimation, in the eyes of their fellow-colonists, is lower than that of the popular representatives. They are under a species of restraint which, whether actual or imagined in particular cases, excludes the whole body from the public confidence. Neither have these members been found practically to contribute to the strength of government. Almost uniformly, on constitutional

questions, they have indeed united their votes to those of the official members; but this union does not form a majority of the council; and their presence has rather the effect to weaken, by a species of party tendency, the indirect influence which a well administered executive must always exert over the colonists and their representatives.

The governor of New South Wales, in his opening address to the new legislature of 1843 assembled at Sydney, congratulated the members that to them "singly had been confided powers which in some of the older colonies of Great Britain are divided between two separate bodies." There appears now, however, to be a desire on the part of the home government to experiment upon and alter this political constitution in the Australasian world. The principle of an upper house of legislation, and one or more of a subsidiary character, has been devised for the colony of New Zealand; and if successful in these islands, may also be extended to the Australian colonies. There has not been any public expression of the colonists themselves in regard to this more complicated political system. The scale of Australasian society is still too minute even to raise the question. It has not been decided because it has never been thought of. Nor is there any distinctive class of the colonists to give efficient character to an upper house. The circumstances of New Zealand, however, differ in some respects from those of Australia, and may better tolerate this new system. The commercial interests are less centralized. In Australia a large area of country becomes gradually connected with some particular seaport, which takes a decided precedence as the social and commercial centre. Such are Sydney, Melbourne, and Adelaide, with regard to their several extensive districts; and so decided are the respective demarcations in these cases, occasioned chiefly by the physical features of the country, that the commercial connexions in each instance should always be respected as the basis for determining their territorial boundaries. The insular character of New Zealand produces a different result. No single town in any locality can there command more than a limited area of its own vicinity. The delay and expenses of transport, where any considerable population has been assembled, soon lead to the establishment of new seaports, forming separate communities, which have not those intimate relations with one common centre as in Australia. A system of district authorities subservient to a principal legislature may possibly be found to answer in New Zealand. But the plan of an upper house to legislate for several distinct and otherwise

independent settlements, is always attended with great practical inconvenience in colonies. The want of means and leisure time on the part of the population occasions a difficulty in finding competent parties who can afford to leave the circuit of their own districts for the protracted purposes of legislation. This has been fully experienced in the case of Australia Felix, which, though officially in the same colony with Sydney, is yet commercially and otherwise a separate settlement. She enjoys ostensibly six seats in the legislative council assembled at Sydney; but it has never been possible to fill them with her own colonists. With two exceptions her six representatives are all residents of the Sydney District.

The better known principle of an upper and an under house within each colony, as exhibited in the legislative council and house of assembly of some of our transatlantic possessions, is also liable to objection. There is no real relationship in the example of the mother country, whose ancient associations and comprehensive interests have no adequate representation in the colonies. These unpopular systems are generally ingrafted by the aid of some constitutional concession made at the same moment to the colony, and time and habit gradually beget a feeling of toleration. But I suspect that, with regard to our colonies, it will gradually be found a great fallacy, that a good and efficient government can be carried on under a systematic check upon the direct representatives of the people. Legislation will either languish in injurious neglect, or be conducted with occasional outbreak and continual dissatisfaction. It cannot be good policy to continue any institution that is in the nature of an unpopular infliction on the colony by the parent state. A colony should not be thus in a situation where the disaffected may incessantly tantalize its loyal population. Let the colonial representatives deal directly with the imperial government, and its delegate the colonial governor. The veto of the mother country can at all events protect her own interests where they may happen to intrude; and if the colonists will persist to do harm to themselves (for such we must suppose to be the theoretical view of the parent government), by all means let them suffer, and thereby acquire a better experience.

GENERAL STATISTICS

OF THE POPULATION, LIVE STOCK, AGRICULTURE, COMMERCE, AND FINANCES

OF AUSTRALIA FELIX, OR DISTRICT OF PORT PHILLIP, AND THE COLONY OF NEW SOUTH WALES.

POPULATION.

Colony of New South Wales.

RETURN of the Population of New South Wales for the Years 1836-1845, distinguishing Males from Females.

Year.	POPULATION.				Year.	POPULATION.			
	Adults.		Children.	Total.		Adults.		Children.	Total.
	Male.	Female.				Male.	Female.		
1836	48,375	14,550	14,171	77,096	1841	75,474	33,546	40,649	149,669
1837	52,099	15,918	17,250	85,267	1842	76,528	35,762	47,599	159,889
1838	57,485	18,000	22,427	97,912	1843	76,147	35,474	53,920	165,541
1839	63,784	21,998	28,604	114,386	1844	74,912	36,170	62,295	173,377
1840	70,021	25,476	33,966	129,463	1845	74,951	36,223	70,382	181,556

Census of 2d March 1846.—General Summary for New South Wales.

		Males.	Females.	Totals.
Population within the limits of location,	Middle District	80,576	58,307	138,883
	Port Phillip District	13,234	10,234	23,468
Total,		93,810	68,541	162,351
Population beyond the limits of location,	Middle District	11,813	3,838	15,651
	Port Phillip District	6,950	2,461	9,411
Total,		18,763	6,299	25,062
Crews of Colonial Vessels in Harbour or at Sea,		2,196	....	2,196
Total pop. of New South Wales on the 2d March 1846*		114,769	74,840	189,609
Population of 1841,		87,298	43,558	130,856
Gross increase of population during the five years ending March 1846,		27,471	31,282	58,753
Centesimal increase during the same period,		31.46	71.81	44.89
Average annual centesimal increase for the same period,		6.29	14.36	8.98
Centesimal proportion of the sexes,	1846,	60.53	39.47	100
	1841,	66.71	33.29	100

* Exclusive of the settlement at Port Essington, from which no returns could be obtained, but which is estimated to comprise about sixty persons.

Southern or Port Phillip District.—Sex and Age.

ABSTRACT of the Population on the 2d March 1846, in each of the Counties and Commissioners' Districts comprised within the Southern or Port Phillip District, and also in the Town of Melbourne, and in each Town and Village in the Port Phillip District, showing the Number of Persons of each Sex and Age.

COUNTY, DISTRICT, TOWN, OR VILLAGE.	NUMBER OF EACH AGE.														Totals.		
	MALES.							FEMALES.									
	Under 2 Years.	2 and under 7.	7 and under 14	14 and under 21.	21 and under 45	45 and under 60.	60 and upwards	Under 2 Years.	2 and under 7.	7 and under 14.	14 and under 21.	21 and under 45.	45 and under 60	60 and upwards.	Males.	Females.	General Totals.
COUNTIES.																	
County of Bourke	1006	1512	962	538	4843	484	95	1005	1490	917	680	3512	256	31	9440	7891	17331
" Grant	201	314	153	135	1377	142	17	215	285	152	148	680	46	5	2339	1531	3870
" Normanby	108	174	98	61	935	71	8	109	174	91	45	369	23	1	1455	812	2267
Total population within the limits of location of the Southern or Port Phillip District	1315	2000	1213	734	7155	697	120	1329	1949	1160	873	4561	325	37	13234	10234	23468
Commissioners' Districts beyond the limits of location. Gipps' Land	36	62	32	36	390	52	4	32	49	24	19	107	8	1	612	240	852
Murray	77	92	40	31	810	82	10	49	90	32	30	205	9	1	1142	416	1558
Portland Bay	125	150	80	72	2117	122	11	129	160	50	27	418	13	2	2677	799	3476
Western Port	138	216	135	116	1726	169	19	150	217	86	52	463	38	..	2519	1006	3525
Total population beyond the limits of location of the Southern or Port Phillip District	376	520	287	255	5043	425	44	360	516	192	128	1193	68	4	6950	2461	9411
Total population of the Southern or Port Phillip District	1691	2520	1500	989	12198	1122	164	1689	2465	1352	1001	5754	393	41	20184	12695	32879
TOWNS AND VILLAGES. — **COUNTY.**																	
Melbourne	613	948	617	331	2959	237	49	655	953	592	480	2346	152	22	5754	5200	10954
Ashby (*p*) — Grant	10	18	6	..	43	2	..	10	16	6	5	30	4	..	79	71	150
Belfast (*p*) — Normanby	15	21	8	5	89	10	3	17	23	5	7	63	3	..	151	118	269
Brighton (*p*) — Bourke	49	68	28	9	106	10	2	34	31	38	16	111	7	..	272	237	509
Brunswick (*p*)	11	12	10	5	38	8	1	9	14	9	9	31	6	1	85	79	164
Geelong (North) — Grant	47	64	35	40	380	24	4	45	62	45	43	180	9	4	594	388	982
Geelong (South)	17	31	20	7	101	11	1	32	38	19	18	85	7	1	188	200	388
Irishtown (*p*)	14	14	4	2	34	3	..	8	15	4	7	29	1	..	71	64	135
Newtown (*p*)	25	28	6	5	59	3	1	18	26	14	11	57	3	..	127	129	256
Portland — Normanby	27	41	26	8	163	12	1	27	53	35	13	100	4	..	278	232	510
Richmond (*p*) — Bourke	29	33	20	8	82	11	2	26	48	30	14	93	5	1	185	217	402
Williamstown	17	29	14	8	93	11	1	20	38	9	11	70	2	..	172	150	322
Total urban pop. in the Southern or Port Phillip District	874	1306	794	428	4147	342	65	901	1317	806	634	3195	203	29	7956	7085	15041

NOTE—The mark (*p*) attached to the name of any town or village, indicates that it is situated on private property.

Southern or Port Phillip District.—Religion.

ABSTRACT of the Population on the 2d March 1846, in each of the Counties and Commissioners' Districts, comprised within the Southern or Port Phillip District, and also in the Town of Melbourne, and in each Town and Village in the Port Phillip District, showing the Number of Persons of each of the undermentioned Persuasions.

COUNTY, DISTRICT, TOWN, OR VILLAGE.	RELIGION.								General Totals.
	Church of England.	Church of Scotland.	Wesleyan Methodists.	Other Protestants.	Roman Catholics.	Jews.	Mahometans and Pagans.	Other Persuasions.	
COUNTIES.									
County of Bourke	7237	2812	1133	904	5076	92	18	59	17331
.. Grant	1874	642	284	38	1010	11	3	8	3870
.. Normanby	1253	423	68	23	490	3	2	5	2267
Total population within the limits of location of the Southern or Port Phillip District	10364	3877	1485	965	6576	106	23	72	23468
Commissioners' Districts beyond the limits of location. Gipps' Land	445	154	11	32	202	1	1	6	852
Murray	776	258	11	30	476	2	..	5	1558
Portland Bay	1655	382	26	66	815	6	1	25	3476
Western Port	1681	685	64	76	1006	2	2	9	3525
Total population beyond the limits of location of the Southern or Port Phillip District	4557	1979	112	204	2499	11	4	45	9411
Total population of the Southern or Port Phillip District	14921	5856	1597	1169	9075	117	27	117	32879
Population of the Town of Melbourne	4438	1616	784	657	3325	81	10	43	10954
Population in Country Towns in the Port Phillip District	2013	563	418	112	959	15	..	7	4087
Total urban population in the Southern or Port Phillip District	6451	2179	1202	769	4284	96	10	50	15041

Southern or Port Phillip District.—Occupation.

ABSTRACT of the Population on the 2d March 1846, in each of the Counties and Commissioners' Districts comprised within the Southern or Port Phillip District, and also in the Town of Melbourne, and in each Town and Village in the Port Phillip District, showing the Number of Persons who follow the Occupations comprised under the following general Heads.

COUNTY, DISTRICT, TOWN, OR VILLAGE.	OCCUPATION.																GENERAL TOTALS.
	Commerce, Trade, &c.	Agriculture.	Grazing. Management of Sheep.	Grazing. Management of Horses & Cattle.	Horticulture.	Other Labourers.	Mechanics & Artificers.	Domestic Servants. Male.	Domestic Servants. Female.	Clerical Profession.	Legal Profession.	Medical Profession.	Other educated Persons.	Pensioners, Paupers, &c.	All other Occupations.	Residue of Population.	
COUNTIES.																	
County of Bourke	874	983	288	348	97	622	1411	406	764	8	48	32	192	104	941	10213	17331
.. Grant	150	171	360	57	28	383	260	193	199	4	1	9	35	..	121	1899	3870
.. Normanby	83	198	257	102	2	183	171	44	83	2	1	10	18	3	39	1071	2267
Total population within the limits of location of the Southern or Port Phillip District	1107	1352	905	507	127	1188	1842	643	1046	14	50	51	245	107	1101	13183	23468
Commissioners' Districts beyond the limits of location. Gipps' Land	20	9	149	132	..	64	48	25	16	..	..	2	5	..	14	368	852
Murray	32	78	397	188	..	164	36	31	91	..	..	3	6	..	7	525	1558
Portland Bay	56	42	2109	136	..	72	105	34	185	..	..	4	..	..	16	717	3476
Western Port	22	155	980	233	3	429	79	68	135	2	..	2	2	..	8	1407	3525
Total population beyond the limits of location of the Southern or Port Phillip District	130	284	3635	689	3	729	268	158	427	2	..	11	13	..	45	3017	9411
Total population of the Southern or Port Phillip District	1237	1636	4540	1196	130	1917	2110	801	1473	16	50	62	258	107	1146	16200	32879
Population of the Town of Melbourne	766	23	69	101	23	418	1186	299	494	7	38	30	152	104	625	6619	10954
Population in country towns in the Port Phillip District	251	63	51	37	25	338	339	101	169	6	8	14	57	3	212	2413	4087
Total urban population in the Southern or Port Phillip District	1017	86	120	138	48	756	1525	400	663	13	46	44	209	107	837	9032	15041

Southern or Port Phillip District.—Houses.

ABSTRACT of the Number and Description of Houses, on the 2d March 1846, in each of the Counties and Commissioners' Districts comprised within the Southern or Port Phillip District, and also in each Ward of the Town of Melbourne, and in each Town and Village in the Port Phillip District.

County, District, Town, or Village.	Houses.								
	Stone or Brick.	Wood.	Shingled.	Slated.	Totals.	Finished.	Unfinished.	Inhabited.	Uninhabited.
Counties.									
County of Bourke	1575	1867	2835	71	3442	3024	418	3323	119
" Grant	195	399	365	5	594	498	96	594	..
" Normanby	32	317	242	..	349	287	62	343	6
Total number of Houses within the limits of location of the Southern or Port Phillip District	1802	2583	3442	76	4385	3809	576	4260	125
Commissioners' Districts beyond the limits of location. Gipps' Land	5	116	15	..	121	113	8	121	..
Murray	..	137	39	..	137	126	11	136	1
Portland Bay	12	222	90	..	234	218	16	234	..
Western Port	16	305	119	..	321	281	40	319	2
Total number of Houses beyond the limits of location of the Southern or Port Phillip District	33	780	263	..	813	738	75	810	3
Total number of Houses in the Southern or Port Phillip District	1835	3363	3705	76	5198	4547	651	5070	128
Towns and Villages. / County.									
MELBOURNE. Bourke Ward / Bourke	233	178	404	6	411	400	11	395	16
MELBOURNE. Gipps' Ward	469	271	730	9	740	579	161	722	18
MELBOURNE. La Trobe Ward	398	232	576	30	630	585	45	616	14
MELBOURNE. Lonsdale Ward	276	277	513	19	553	533	20	530	23
Total number of Houses in the Town of Melbourne	1376	958	2223	64	2334	2097	237	2263	71
Ashby (*p*) / Grant	8	25	24	..	33	28	5	33	..
Belfast (*p*) / Normanby	4	46	46	..	50	33	17	50	..
Brighton (*p*) / Bourke	18	87	35	2	105	93	12	0 5	..
Brunswick (*p*)	16	24	36	..	40	38	2	40	..
Geelong (North) / Grant	92	79	164	4	171	146	25	171	..
Geelong (South)	55	31	83	..	86	59	27	86	..
Irishtown (*p*)	7	26	8	..	33	30	3	33	..
Newtown (*p*)	18	37	34	..	55	31	24	55	..
Portland / Normanby	21	86	107	..	107	100	7	104	3
Richmond (*p*) / Bourke	35	49	77	..	84	75	9	84	..
Williamstown	10	116	124	..	126	116	10	80	46
Total number of Houses in Country Towns in the Port Phillip District	284	606	738	6	890	749	141	841	49
Total number of Houses in Towns in the Southern or Port Phillip District	1660	1564	2961	70	3224	2846	378	3104	120

NOTE 1.—The difference between the sum of slated and shingled houses and the total number of houses in any district, &c., is made up of houses covered with bark, or thatch; and in like manner, the difference (if any) between the total number of houses and the sum of houses constructed of brick or stone, and of wood, is made up of houses formed entirely of bark.

NOTE 2.—The mark (*p*) attached to the name of any town or village indicates that it is situated on private property.

Sydney or Middle District.

ABSTRACT of the Population, on the 2d March 1846, in each of the Counties and Commissioners' Districts comprised within the Sydney or Middle District, showing the Number of Persons of each Sex.

County or District.	Males.	Females.	Totals.
COUNTIES.			
Argyle	3039	1872	4911
Bathurst	2799	1592	4391
Bligh	420	178	598
Brisbane	936	470	1406
Camden	4952	3371	8323
Cook	2122	1476	3598
Cumberland	40242	33296	73538
Durham	4470	3084	7554
Georgiana	637	316	953
Gloucester	1492	907	2399
Hunter	695	495	1190
King	1067	598	1665
Macquarie	1327	646	1973
Murray	1803	918	2721
Northumberland	7750	5585	13335
Phillip	432	209	641
Roxburgh	1504	849	2353
St Vincent	1308	794	2102
Wellington	711	259	970
Westmoreland	995	580	1575
Total population in the 20 Counties	78701	57495	136196
County of Stanley (Moreton Bay)	1122	477	1599
— Auckland (Twofold Bay)	753	335	1088
Total population within the limits of location of the Middle District	80576	58307	138883
COMMISSIONERS' DISTRICTS BEYOND THE LIMITS OF LOCATION.			
Bligh	615	173	788
Clarence River	869	356	1225
Darling Downs	552	106	658
Lachlan	1569	629	2198
Liverpool Plains	1778	332	2110
McLeay River	340	126	466
Menaroo	1321	595	1916
Moreton Bay	224	44	268
Murrumbidgee	1820	772	2592
New England	1756	475	2231
Wellington	969	230	1199
Total population beyond the limits of location in the Middle District	11813	3838	15651
Total population of the Middle District of New South Wales	92389	62145	154534

Sydney or Middle District.

ABSTRACT of the Population, on the 2d March 1846, in the City of Sydney and its Suburbs, and in the several Towns and Villages in the Middle District, showing the Number of Persons of each Sex.

	Name of City, Suburb, Town, or Village.	County in which Situated.	Males.	Females.	Totals.
	City of Sydney	Cumberland	20810	17548	38358
Suburbs of the City.	Balmain (*p*)	"	682	655	1337
	Camperdown (*p*)	"	125	116	241
	Canterbury (*p*)	"	128	90	218
	Chippendale (*p*)	"	219	197	416
	Glebe, the (*p*)	"	533	522	1055
	Newtown (*p*)	"	631	584	1215
	O'Connell Town (*p*)	"	25	15	40
	Paddington (*p*)	"	422	404	826
	Redfern (*p*)	"	437	428	865
	St. Leonard's (*p*)*	"	223	189	412
	Surry Hills (*p*)	"	121	86	207
		Total Suburbs	3546	3286	6832
Towns and Villages.	Ailsa	Bligh	5	8	13
	Albury	Unnamed	43	22	65
	Appin	Cumberland	67	58	125
	Bathurst	Bathurst	1103	780	1883
	Berrima	Camden	257	120	377
	Boyd (*p*)	Auckland	92	33	125
	Braidwood	St Vincent	119	87	206
	Brisbane (North)	Stanley	405	209	614
	Brisbane (South)	"	209	137	346
	Broulee,	St. Vincent	9	13	22
	Bungendore	Murray	19	11	30
	Bungonia	Argyle	53	45	98
	Camden (*p*)	Camden	140	102	242
	Campbelltown	Cumberland	295	246	541
	Carcoar	Bathurst	43	30	73
	Clarence Town	Durham	50	43	93
	Dalkeith (*p*)	Bligh	33	16	49
	Carry forward		2942	1960	4902

NOTE.—The mark (*p*) attached to the name of any suburb, town, or village, indicates that it is situated on private property.

* This includes the inhabitants of the government township of St Leonard's, as well as the residents on the adjoining suburb.

	Name of City, Suburb, Town or Village.	County in which Situated.	Males.	Females.	Totals.
	Brought forward		2942	1960	4902
Towns and Villages.	Dungog	Durham	69	55	124
	Eden	Auckland	40	23	63
	Gosford	Northumberland	35	18	53
	Goulburn	Argyle	686	485	1171
	Gundagai	Unnamed	55	32	87
	Gunning	King	60	35	95
	Hartley	Cook	31	31	62
	Haydonton (*p*)	Brisbane	74	43	117
	Ipswich	Stanley	64	39	103
	Kelso (*p*)	Roxburgh	258	206	464
	Liverpool	Cumberland	362	239	601
	Macquarie	Macquarie	599	220	819
	Maitland (East)	Northumberland	489	421	910
	Maitland (West) (*p*)	"	1350	1059	2409
	Merriwa	Brisbane	29	13	42
	Montefiores (*p*)	Bligh	72	57	129
	Morpeth (*p*)	Northumberland	334	301	635
	Mudgee	Wellington	90	41	131
	Murrurundi	Brisbane	35	17	52
	Muswell Brook	Durham	123	85	208
	Narellan	Cumberland	8	6	14
	Newcastle	Northumberland	1017	454	1471
	Nurea	Unnamed	23	21	44
	Paramatta	Cumberland	2261	2193	4454
	Paterson	Durham	74	67	141
	Penrith (*p*)	Cumberland	171	120	291
	Petersham (*p*)	"	66	56	122
	Picton	Camden	72	48	120
	Pitt Town	Cumberland	109	120	229
	Queanbeyan	Murray	128	80	203
	Raymond Terrace	Gloucester	145	118	263
	Richmond	Cumberland	399	347	746
	Scone	Brisbane	69	48	117
	Singleton (*p*)	Northumberland	309	256	565
	St. Alban's	"	8	13	21
	St. Aubin's (*p*)	Brisbane	57	46	103
	Stockton (*p*)	Gloucester	66	46	112
	Windsor	Cumberland	930	749	1679
	Wollombi	Northumberland	41	35	76
	Wollongong	Camden	287	228	515
	Yass	Murray and King	170	104	274
	Total population in Country Towns		14207	10535	24742
	Add the City of Sydney and Suburbs		24356	20834	45190
	Total urban population in the Middle District		38563	31369	69932

SUMMARIES.

Number of each Age.

	Number of each Age.													Totals.		
	Males.							Females.								
	Under Two years.	Two and under Seven.	Seven and under Fourteen.	Fourteen and under Twenty-one.	Twenty-one and under Forty-five.	Forty-five and under Sixty.	Sixty and upwards.	Under Two Years.	Two and under Seven.	Seven and under Fourteen.	Fourteen and under Twenty-one.	Twenty-one and under Forty-five.	Forty-five and under Sixty.	Sixty and upwards.	Males.	Females.	General Totals.
Total population of the Middle District of New South Wales.	6193	11884	9208	6086	46811	9572	2635	6201	11933	8752	6386	24561	3411	901	92389	62145	154534
Total population of the Port Phillip District	1691	2620	1500	989	12198	1122	164	1689	2465	1352	1001	5754	393	41	20184	12695	32879
Total population of New South Wales	7884	14404	10708	7075	59009	10694	2799	7890	14398	10104	7387	30315	3804	942	112573	74840	187413

* Exclusive of the crews of colonial-vessels.

Civil Condition.

	Civil Condition.									Totals.		
	Males.					Females.						
	Free.		Bond.			Free.		Bond.				
	Born in the Colony or arrived Free.	Other Free Persons.	Holding Tickets of Leave.	In Government Employment.	In private Assignment.	Born in the Colony or arrived Free.	Other Free Persons.	Holding Tickets of Leave.	In Government Employment.	In private Assignment.	Males.	Females.	General Totals.
Total population of the Middle District of New South Wales	62562	20174	6886	2056	711	56948	4285	457	238	217	92389	62145	154534
Total population of the Port Phillip District	17553	2363	230	18	20	12488	202	5	...	...	20184	12695	32879
Total population of New South Wales	80115	22537	7116	2074	731	69436	4487	462	238	217	112573	74840	187413*

* Exclusive of the crews of colonial vessels.

Social Condition.

Total Population of	MALES.		FEMALES.		TOTALS.		
	Married.	Single.	Married.	Single.	Males.	Females	General Totals.
Middle District of N. S. Wales...	25573	66816	25484	36661	92389	62145	154534
Port Phillip District.....	5564	14620	5656	7039	20184	12695	32879
New South Wales.....	31137	81436	31140	43700	112573	74840	187413*

Religion.

Total Population of	Church of England.	Church of Scotland	Wesleyan Methodists.	Other Protestants.	Roman Catholics.	Jews.	Mahometans & Pagans.	Other Persuasions.	General Totals.
Middle District of N. S. Wales...	79810	16053	6338	3681	47187	969	135	361	154534
Port Phillip District.....	14921	5856	1597	1169	9075	117	27	117	32879
New South Wales.....	94731	21909	7935	4850	56262	1086	162	478	187413*

Houses.

Total Number of Houses in	Stone or Brick.	Wood.	Shingled.	Slated.	Totals.	Finished.	Unfinished.	Inhabited.	Uninhabited.
Middle District of N.S. Wales	9955	14511	17012	500	26563	24834	1729	24848	1715
Port Phillip District	1835	3363	3705	76	5198	4547	651	5070	128
New South Wales	11790	17874	20717	576	31761	29381	2380	29918	1843

NOTE.—The difference between the sum of slated and shingled houses and the total number of houses in any district, is made up of houses covered with bark or thatch; and in like manner the difference between the total number of houses and the sum of houses constructed of brick or stone, and of wood, is made up of houses formed entirely of bark.

* Exclusive of the crews of colonial vessels.

	Education.												Totals.		
	Males.						Females.								
	Under Twenty-one years.			Above Twenty-one years.			Under Twenty-one years.			Above Twenty-one years.					
	Cannot read.	Read only.	Read and write.	Cannot read.	Read only.	Read and write.	Cannot read.	Read only.	Read and write.	Cannot read.	Read only.	Read and write.	Males.	Females.	General Totals.
Total population of the Middle District of New South Wales ..	18568	5480	9323	14245	7150	37623	18035	6159	9078	7160	6209	15504	92389	62145	154534
Total population of the Port Phillip District	4005	1052	1643	1797	1484	10203	3863	1138	1506	988	1274	3926	20184	12695	32879
Total population of New South Wales	22573	6532	10966	16042	8634	47826	21898	7297	10584	8148	7483	19430	112573	74840	187413*

* Exclusive of the crews of colonial vessels.

Country where Born.

	Country where Born.													Totals.		
	Males.							Females.								
	In the Colony.	In England.	In Wales.	In Ireland.	In Scotland.	In other British Dominions.	In Foreign Countries.	In the Colony.	In England.	In Wales.	In Ireland.	In Scotland.	In other British Dominions.	In Foreign Countries.	Males.	Females.	General Totals.
Total population of the Middle District of New South Wales	27361	33756	364	22445	6409	1153	901	27492	13493	177	15976	3970	752	285	92389	62145	154534
Total population of the Port Phillip District	3855	7407	83	5037	2757	800	245	3728	2693	38	4089	1468	603	76	20184	12695	32879
Total population of New South Wales	31216	41163	447	27482	9166	1953	1146	31220	16186	215	20065	5438	1355	361	112573	74840	187413*

* Exclusive of the crews of colonial vessels.

Occupation.

Occupation.	Commerce, Trade, and Manufacture.	Agriculture	Grazing.		Horticulture.	Other Labourers.	Mechanics and Artificers.	Domestic Servants.		Clerical Profession.	Legal Profession.	Medical Profession.	Other educated persons.	Almspeople, Pensioners, Paupers, &c.	All other Occupations.	Residue of Population.	General Totals.
			Shepherds and Persons in the Management of Sheep.	Stockmen and Persons in the Management of Horses & Cat.	Total Grazing.			Male.	Female.								
Total population of the Middle District of New South Wales	8027	12316	9025	4336	13361	813	10187	8659	3387	4982	169	221	281	479	1580	6670	82402	154534
Total population of the Port Phillip District	1237	1636	4540	1196	5736	130	1917	2110	801	1473	16	50	62	258	107	1146	16200	32079
Total population of New South Wales	9264	13952	13565	5532	19097	943	12104	10769	4188	6455	185	271	343	1737	1687	7816	98602	187413*

* Exclusive of the crews of colonial vessels.

LIVE STOCK.

Return of Live Stock in the Colony of New South Wales, on the 1st of January 1846.*

COUNTIES OR DISTRICTS.	DESCRIPTION OF STOCK. HORSES.	HORNED CATTLE.	PIGS.	SHEEP.
	Number.	Number.	Number.	Number.
Sydney or Middle District within the Boundaries of Location.				
Argyle,	3,481	25,027	1,750	268,303
Bathurst,	2,194	27,356	717	189,400
Bligh,	824	9,518	119	88,623
Brisbane,	1,698	12,725	555	228,561
Camden,	5,466	35,046	5,936	42,710
Cook,	2,057	9,456	3,645	13,445
Cumberland,	11,775	28,838	11,834	9,738
Durham,	4,818	52,891	6,993	107,782
Georgiana,	2,121	18,113	724	126,608
Gloucester,	2,093	23,240	1,406	71,256
Hunter,	956	6,029	1,506	5,324
King,	688	16,674	561	49,141
Macquarie,	1,474	18,936	1,046	8,907
Murray,	2,411	25,673	1,538	230,047
Northumberland,	5,032	37,172	8,917	30,664
Phillip,	511	6,033	100	55,966
Roxburgh,	2,000	15,000	600	150,000
St Vincent,	1,729	25,838	1,637	42,770
Stanley,	120	883	286	246
Wellington,	1,442	13,096	435	127,018
Westmoreland,	1,449	10,097	627	44,600
	54,339	417,641	50,932	1,891,099
Commissioners' Districts, beyond the Boundaries of Location.				
Bligh,	750	35,347	100	137,241
Clarence River,	942	27,831	800	148,957
Darling Downs,	424	14,305	30	210,355
Lachlan,	2,431	79,443	1,231	159,626
Liverpool Plains,	3,135	177,720	500	331,588
M'Leay River,	734	19,146	490	2,270
Meneroo,	5,064	135,363	718	347,696
Moreton Bay,	584	14,607	72	190,550
Murrumbidgee,	2,262	95,199	500	295,068
New England,	1,392	50,348	500	497,079
Wellington,	957	49,470	149	198,075
	18,675	698,779	5,090	2,518,405
Port Phillip or Southern District.				
Bourke,	1,325	17,074	1,320	89,627
Grant,	521	6,941	1,076	163,353
Normanby,	310	6,614	216	108,633
Without the Boundaries,	7,133	200,973	1,374	1,430,914
	9,289	231,602	3,986	1,792,527
General Total,	82,303	1,348,022	60,008	6,202,031

* There appears some mistake here in the return of sheep for Port Phillip. Instead of 1,792,527, which in the face of a rapid increase is less than the number of the previous year, I have throughout the work assumed the data furnished by the Sydney Herald of 18th July 1846, namely, 2,449,527, which is more likely to be the truth. The whole number for the colony will therefore be 6,859,031, which is exclusive of unweaned lambs. I am not aware of the cause of difference, nor have I yet seen the returns for 1st January of the present year.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—AGRICULTURE.

RETURN showing the Quantity of Land in Cultivation, (exclusive of Gardens and Orchards) in the Colony of New South Wales, (including the District of Port Phillip), from the Year 1836 to 1845 inclusive.

	AGRICULTURE.																	
	CROPS.									PRODUCE.								
Year.	Wheat. Acres.	Maize. Acres.	Barley. Acres.	Oats. Acres.	Rye. Acres.	Millet. Acres.	Potatoes. Acres.	Tobacco. Acres.	Sown Grasses, Oats, and Barley for Hay. Acres.	Total number of Acres in Crop.	Wheat. Bushels.	Maize. Bushels.	Barley. Bushels.	Oats. Bushels.	Rye. Bushels.	Millet. Bushels.	Potatoes. Tons.	Tobacco. Cwt.	Hay. Tons.
1836	51,616	17,503	3,062	4,276	720	14	977	461	8,803	87,432	864,244	390,132	60,057	23,412	10,818	18	about 1,970	about 4,145	14,853
1837	59,975	18,381	2,551	3,893	493	80	1,165	533	5,054	92,125	692,620	632,155	51,447	17,119	6,753	695	2,102	2,034	5,627
1838	48,060	25,043	2,922	3,767	429	39	1,788	925	9,939	92,912	469,140	556,268	32,103	13,416	4,878	353	3,496	4,952	6,960
1839	48,401	22,026	3,490	6,793	483	46	1,115	424	12,534	95,312	805,140	525,507	66,033	27,788	7,008	283	2,601	2,509	25,923
1840	74,133	24,966	5,144	5,453	609	115	2,594	381	12,721	126,116	1,116,814	777,947	105,389	66,020	8,863	3,338	11,050	4,300	21,329
1841	58,605	25,004	5,423	5,892	495	47	4,027	380	15,257	115,130	832,776	503,803	90,172	62,704	6,507	1,072	11,141	2,642	17,175
1842	65,188	27,324	5,320	4,467	486	99	5,174	224	18,592	126,874	854,432	590,134	88,767	84,321	4,451	1,201	12,561	2,014	18,622
1843	78,083	29,061	5,727	4,537	514	42	5,872	655	21,162	145,653	1,000,225	719,358	95,658	92,268	5,145	410	16,392	6,098	27,774
1844	81,903	20,798	7,236	4,336	359	43	6,783	871	21,766	144,095	1,312,652	575,913	132,612	70,620	4,475	511	22,748	6,382	31,848
1845	87,894	25,372	10,455	6,109	330	36	5,101	483	27,551	163,331	1,211,099	499,122	175,407	88,193	4,101	775	19,906	3,985	28,614

COLONIAL SECRETARY'S OFFICE, *Sydney*, 21*st May* 1846. E. DEAS THOMSON, *Colonial Secretary.*

NOTE.—From 1836 to 1841, the crops and produce from land beyond the boundaries of location are not included.

1844. To this year has been added the produce of the crops in the Gipps' Land District which had not been rendered by the Commissioner when the returns published last year were made out.

COMMERCE.

District of Port Phillip.

TABLE exhibiting the Value of Imports and Exports, the Quantity of Wool Exported, and Amount of Customs Revenue for the District of Port Phillip, for each of the Years 1837-1845.

Year.	Imports.	Exports.	Lbs. of Wool.	Customs Revenue.
1837	108,939	12,180	175,081	2,979
1838	71,061	20,589	320,393	6,735
1839	204,722	77,684	615,605	11,476
1840	392,026	154,650	929,325	27,306
1841*	217,764	157,069	1,704,861	46,093
1842	194,510	197,912	2,752,340	54,973
1843	120,675	221,639	3,331,395	41,419
1844	158,863	242,801	4,204,979	36,451
1845	205,390	342,624	4,826,735	42,536

New South Wales.

IMPORTS.—RETURN of the Value of Imports into the Colony of New South Wales (including the District of Port Phillip), from the Year 1836 to 1845 inclusive.

Year.	From Great Britain.	From British Colonies.		From South Sea Islands.	From Fisheries.	From United States.	From Foreign States.	Total.
		New Zealand.	Elsewhere.					
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
1836	794,422	32,155	220,254	1,972	103,575	22,739	62,289	1,237,406
1837	807,264	42,886	257,427	1,764	80,441	9,777	97,932	1,297,491
1838	1,102,127	53,943	255,975	5,548	71,506	8,066	82,112	1,579,277
1839	1,251,969	71,709	504,828	3,863	186,212	23,093	194,697	2,236,371
1840	2,200,305	54,192	376,954	1,348	104,895	24,164	252,331	3,014,189
1841	1,837,369	45,659	286,637	24,361	87,809	35,282	200,871	2,527,988
1842	854,774	37,246	260,955	10,020	64,999	20,117	206,948	1,455,059
1843	1,034,942	15,738	211,291	22,387	42,579	12,041	211,566	1,550,544
1844	643,419	20,795	133,128	10,624	32,507	17,187	73,600	931,260
1845	777,112	34,470	203,289	40,048	43,503	7,416	128,016	1,233,854

* From 1841 inclusive, the exports, imports, and quantity of wool are given as for the year ending 10th October, which represents the annual progress more fairly than the usual official termination of 31st December, which occurs in the midst of the shipping season. The reader should bear in mind that this table affords a very inadequate representation of the commerce of the district, as the extensive transactions with Sydney are not recorded, in consequence of Australia Felix being officially a part of the colony of New South Wales.

EXPORTS.—RETURN of the Value of Exports from the Colony of New South Wales (including the District of Port Phillip) from the Year 1836 to 1845 inclusive.

Year.	To Great Britain.	To British Colonies.		To South Sea Islands.	To Fisheries.	To United States.	To Foreign States.	Total.
		New Zealand.	Elsewhere.					
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
1836	513,976	36,184	136,596	9,628	35,918	13,697	2,625	748,624
1837	518,951	39,528	118,447	485	54,434	10,617	17,592	760,054
1838	583,154	46,924	113,716	7,137	33,988	11,324	6,525	802,768
1839	597,100	95,173	194,684	1,347	34,729	18,568	7,175	948,776
1840	792,494	215,486	304,724	6,621	27,864	27,885	24,618	1,399,692
1841	706,336	114,980	123,968	13,144	18,417	4,837	41,715	1,023,397
1842	685,705	131,784	166,239	3,005	22,862	17,101	40,715	1,067,411
1843	825,885	79,764	205,992	17,934	18,827	.....	23,918	1,172,320
1844	854,903	70,799	165,553	14,106	11,623	.....	11,131	1,128,115
1845	1,254,881	77,017	199,771	17,656	1,593	.....	5,068	1,555,986

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS.—RETURN of the Value of the Imports into and Exports from the Colony of N. S. Wales (including the District of Port Phillip) for the Years 1844 and 1845.

Year.	IMPORTS of Articles the Produce or Manufacture of				EXPORTS of Articles the Produce or Manufacture of				
	United Kingdom.	Other Brit. Dominions.	Foreign States.	Total.	New South Wales.	United Kingdom.	Other Brit. Dominions.	Foreign States.	Total.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
1844	629,510	154,572	147,178	931,260	864,709	119,197	64,266	79,943	1,128,115
1845	786,514	156,491	290,849	1,233,854	1,269,062	100,901	110,160	75,863	1,555,986

FINANCES.

District of Port Phillip.

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE for the Year 1846.*

Receipts.

General revenue,			£60,623	10	2
Crown land revenue,	£35,537	13	3		
Droits of the crown,	458	10	5		
			35,996	3	8
					£96,619 13 10

Disbursements.

From the general revenue,			£34,695	2	4
Schedule A.	£5200	10	9		
..... B.	1769	10	11		
..... C.	3324	0	0		
			10,294	1	8
From the crown revenues,			5779	13	9
					50,768 17 9
Surplus revenue for 1846,					£45,850 16 1

* From the Melbourne Argus of May 18, 1847.

New South Wales.

The Revenue and its Appropriation for the Year 1846.*

I. General Revenue.

Receipts.						
Taxes, duties, rates, and imports,			£249,551	0	0	
Fees and public offices,			10,647	0	0	
Incidental and special receipts,			4,354	0	0	
Total receipts in 1846,			264,552	0	0	
Balance brought from 1845,			57,967	0	0	
					£322,519	0 0
Disbursements.						
Executive and legislative departments,		£43,630	0	0		
Public works and buildings,		32,018	0	0		
Orphan and school establishments,		12,290	0	0		
Medical do.,		5,717	0	0		
Coroners,		1,901	0	0		
Police,	£61,809 0 0					
Gaols,	8,893 0 0					
	70,702	0	0			
Pensions,	400	0	0			
Miscellaneous services,	21,332	0	0			
Transferred to civil list or schedules,	81,600	0	0			
Total disbursements in 1846,					269,590	0 0
Balance in hand on 31st December 1846,					£52,929	0 0

II. Crown Revenues.

Receipts.						
Territorial revenues.						
Land sales,	£27,061 0 0					
Other revenues,	47,571 0 0					
	£74,632	0	0			
Casual revenue,	3,145	0	0			
Clergy and school estates,	4,152	0	0			
Total receipts in 1846,	81,929	0	0			
Balance brought from 1845,	64,585	0	0			
					£146,514	0 0
Disbursements.						
Survey, sale, and management of lands,	£14,639	0	0			
Immigration,	7,506	0	0			
Aborigines,	2,114	0	0			
Other expenses,	2,181	0	0			
Remitted to pay off debentures in England,	9,500	0	0			
Total disbursements in 1846,					36,140	0 0
					†£110,374	0 0

* The following statement is derived from the Sydney Morning Herald of 15th May 1847, as extracted for that paper from the official abstracts. The revenue is divided into three classes, viz.: General Revenue, Crown Revenues, and Civil List, or amounts reserved in the schedules of the Constitution Act.

† This balance is pledged towards the liquidation, amongst other charges, of £88,200, the amount of debentures of £100 each, still out-

III. Civil List.

Schedule A.

Receipts.						
Balance brought from 1845,			£1,515	0	0	
Transferred from general revenue of 1846,			33,000	0	0	
					£34,515	0 0
Disbursements.						
Government,			£6,331	0	0	
Judicial,			24,344	0	0	
					30,675	0 0
Balance in hand on 31st December 1846,					£3840	0 0

Schedule B.

Receipts.						
Balance from 1845,			£4,736	0	0	
Transferred from general revenue of 1846,			18,600	0	0	
					£23,336	0 0
Disbursements.						
Colonial secretary and department,			£6,007	0	0	
Office of superintendent at Port Phillip,			716	0	0	
Colonial treasurer and department,			3,554	0	0	
Sub-treasury at Port Phillip,			1,054	0	0	
Auditor-general and department,			2,632	0	0	
Stationery for above departments,			486	0	0	
Executive council,			506	0	0	
Pensions,			629	0	0	
					15,584	0 0
Balance in hand on 31st December 1846,					£7,752	0 0

Schedule C.

Receipts.						
Balance brought from 1845,			£6,369	0	0	
Transferred from general revenue of 1846,			30,000	0	0	
					£36,369	0 0
Disbursements.						
Church of England,			£18,838	0	0	
Presbyterian,			3,096	0	0	
Wesleyan			1,075	0	0	
Roman-catholic,			7897	0	0	
					30,906	0 0
Balance in hand on 31st December 1846,					£5463	0 0

standing, bearing interest at 4d. per diem, and payable in the course of the year 1847.

THE END.

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